

Pastoral Care for Korean Immigrant Male Batterers in
Domestic Violence

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
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This Dissertation, written by

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ABSTRACT

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by

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The primary purpose of this dissertation is to explore from a pastoral care and counseling perspective the impact of religious and cultural patriarchal attitudes, and witnessing past violence, on Korean Christian immigrant male batterers. The methodological approaches are both quantitative and qualitative.

The quantitative part of the study examines major potential contributing factors to violence against women among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers. A set of hypotheses is tested that compares Korean Christian immigrant male batterers with a comparison group of Korean Christian immigrant men to assess the impact religious and cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality and observing and experiencing violence in one's family of origin and/or a broader culture. The qualitative part of the study highlights the findings from the in-depth interviews for domestic violence

prevention and intervention in the Korean immigrant community, thereby providing useful information for the future design of responsive, culturally appropriate and effective prevention efforts in faith communities.

The study shows that demographic characteristics such as age, marital status, occupation, and income are related to the occurrences of domestic violence. Korean Christian immigrant male batterers tend to be older, more likely to be divorced, in lower occupational categories and in a lower income bracket. The mean levels of religious patriarchal attitudes, traditional patriarchal attitudes, and witnessing past violence are significantly lower for the batterers than for Korean Christian immigrant men. The qualitative findings provide pastoral caregivers suggestions as to how to develop a holistic strategy for pastoral interventions for prevention of family violence in their faith communities.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I have been working for the survivors and perpetrators of domestic violence¹ at the Korean American Family Service Center (hereafter referred to as KAFSC) since 1997. When I started my clinical and pastoral placement work at the KAFSC, I never imagined that I would work with domestic violence. Before my clinical work, I just presumed that domestic violence among Korean immigrant families was not a serious matter.

However, through my clinical experiences and group counseling involvement with Korean immigrant male perpetrators participating in a 52 week court-mandated group treatment program, I have realized several important facts about domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community. First of all, violence against women is very serious and prevalent among Korean immigrant families; culturally effective prevention and

¹ Domestic violence, partner violence, wife abuse, spouse abuse, wife assault, and conjugal violence are generally defined as the abuse of a wife by her husband or the abuse of a woman by a male companion with whom she is cohabiting. In this study, domestic violence, partner violence, wife abuse, spouse abuse, wife assault, and conjugal violence are used interchangeably.

intervention programs must be developed for ending the problem. Moreover, the majority of immigrant families lack awareness of spouse abuse and have few culturally adequate resources in the community.

Second, I have understood that spouse abuse in the Korean immigrant community is not only a matter for the society and other professionals but also very much a subject for the church. It was shocking to find a high number of Christian male batterers and female survivors of domestic violence. Findings on the perpetrators who attended the KAFSC's court-mandated 52-week batterers' treatment group program from 1995 to 1997 show that 62% (N=231) of batterers indicated being Protestant Christian.² This data confirms that there is a strong interrelationship of domestic violence with Christianity in the Korean immigrant community.

Finally, I have realized that the Korean American community needs professionally trained leaders who are ready to not only advocate the issue of domestic violence but also provide culturally adequate resources,

² The Korean American Family Service Center in 1998 collected its own data regarding socio-demographic backgrounds of perpetrators who attended a 52-week court-mandated batterers' treatment program from 1995 to 1997.

intervention, and a powerfully healing theology for the survivors and batterers.

Such realizations in the context of caring ministry led me to further research this problem of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community. This dissertation explores selected dimensions of cultural and religious beliefs about gender inequality and the impact of witnessing past violence, as these are strongly posited as major potential contributing factors to violence against women among Korean immigrant families.

This study would be a contribution to all of the professional disciplines that serve to end violence towards women by an intimate partner in the community. Also, I hope that the study helps the Korean immigrant families and faith communities to reduce domestic violence in the present time and to prevent the cycle of violence in the next generation.

Statement of the Problem

Violence shatters lives, destroys families, and burdens communities. Domestic violence is a serious and widespread social problem that occurs among all ages, genders, races, educational backgrounds, and

socioeconomic groups around the world. The following are some of the most commonly known facts about violence against women in the United States.

- Nearly one-third of American women (31 percent) report being physically or sexually abused by a husband or boyfriend at some point in their lives.³
- Around the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused during their lifetime.⁴
- As many as 324,000 women each year experience intimate partner violence during their pregnancy.⁵
- In the year 2001, more than half a million American women (588,490 women) were victims of nonfatal violence committed by an intimate partner.⁶

³ Karen S. Collins, Cathy Schoen, Susan Joseph, Lisa Duchon, Elisabeth Simantov, and Michele Yellowitz, *Health Concerns across a Woman's Lifespan: The Commonwealth Fund 1998 Survey of Women's Health* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1999), 8.

⁴ Lori Heise, Mary Ellsberg, and Megan Gottemoeller, *Ending Violence against Women*, Population Reports, Series L, no. 11 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, 1999), 1.

⁵ Julie A. Gazmararian, Ruth Peterson, Alison M. Spitz, Mary M. Goodwin, Linda E. Saltzman, and James S. Marks, "Violence and Reproductive Health; Current Knowledge and Future Research Direction," *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 4, no. 2 (2000): 80.

- Thirty-seven percent of the women who sought treatment in hospital emergency rooms in 1994 had injuries resulting from domestic violence.⁷
- On average, more than three women are murdered by their husbands or boyfriends in this country every day. In 2000, 1,247 women were killed by an intimate partner.⁸

Despite the current data and statistics about the alarming rate of domestic violence, it is still one of the most underestimated and underreported crimes. In general, women are less likely to report domestic violence due to social shame, stigma, fear of retaliation, immigration-related threats, lack of adequate resources, self-blame, and financial uncertainty. Further, the number is even lower in the Asian Pacific immigrant community. Even though there is no determination as to the causes for underreporting,

⁶ Callie M. Rennison, *Intimate Partner Violence, 1993-2001*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Washington, DC: GPO, 2003), 1.

⁷ Michael R. Rand, *Violence-Related Injuries Treated in Hospital Emergency Departments*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Washington, DC: GPO, 1997), 5.

⁸ Rennison, 1.

there are many cultural reasons that influence underreporting in Asian Pacific Islander groups.

For example, Koreans generally have the longstanding cultural norm that family problems should be resolved inside the family. If someone reaches out for help, it is considered shameful because they believe that they will "lose face" in their community and bring dishonor onto their family. This cultural aspect of family life and problem solving has meant that Koreans are reluctant to reveal their family problems to others or seek help from outside the family. Song's study affirmed the fact that the majority of battered Korean women considered it shameful to seek outside intervention and help from relatives and neighbors.⁹ Hence, due to this strong cultural pressure to hide family problems, Korean immigrant women usually tend to hide domestic violence, try to solve problems by themselves, avoid third-party intervention, and thereby worsen the problem.

But the problem does not end there. As a consequence of violence against women, victims suffer

⁹ Young In Song, *Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families: The Silent Scream* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 125.

from both "short and long term problems, including physical injury and illness, psychological symptoms, economic costs and death."¹⁰ Studies have identified many psychological distresses among battered women such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anger, anxiety, shame, low self-esteem, suicide attempts, somatic and addictive problems.¹¹ In addition, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention revealed that "the health care costs of intimate partner rape, physical assault, and stalking exceed \$5.8 billion each year, nearly \$4.1 billion of which is for direct medical and mental health care services."¹²

¹⁰ Nancy A. Crowell and Ann W. Burgess, eds., *Understanding Violence against Women* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1996), 74.

¹¹ For a discussion of the impact of violence on women see Mary P. Koss, "The Women's Mental Health Research Agenda: Violence against Women," *American Psychologist* 45 (March 1990): 374-80; Richard. J. Gelles and Murray A. Straus, "The Medical and Psychological Costs of Family Violence," in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, ed., Murray A. Straus and Richard. J. Gelles (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 425-30.

¹² U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, *Costs of Intimate Partner Violence against Women in the United States* (Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2003), 2.

Children are all too frequently exposed to domestic violence. Spouse abuse has been demonstrated to have a variety of serious negative consequences for children witnessing violence within their families, including both physical injury and psychological harm. Carlson suggests that over 3.3 million children witness domestic violence annually.¹³ Growing up in an abusive family inflicts terrifying and traumatic wounds upon a child that can affect every aspect of a child's life and development. A majority of studies reveal that children who witness violence against women are more likely to exhibit behavioral, social, emotional and physical health problems, including depression, anxiety, and violence towards peers.¹⁴ They are also more likely to attempt

¹³ Bonnie E. Carlson, "Children's Observations of Interpersonal Violence," in *Battered Women and Their Families*, ed. Albert R. Roberts (New York: Springer Publishing, 1984), 160.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the effect on children who witness woman abuse see Peter G. Jaffe and Marilies Sudermann, "Child Witness of Women Abuse: Research and Community Responses," in *Understanding Partner Violence: Prevalence, Causes, Consequences, and Solutions*, ed. Sandra M. Stith and Murray A. Straus (Minneapolis, MN: National Council on Family Relations, 1995), 213-22.; Jeffrey L. Edleson, "Children's Witnessing of Adult Domestic Violence," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 14, no. 8 (August 1999):839-70; B. B. Robbie Rossman, "Longer Term Effects of Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence," in *Domestic Violence in the Lives of Children: The Future of Research, Intervention, and Social Policy*, ed. Sandra A.

suicide, abuse drugs and alcohol, smoke, run away from home, engage in teenage prostitution, and commit sexual assault crimes.¹⁵

Women of all races are about equally vulnerable to domestic violence. However, as Asian Pacific Islander communities have grown in the United States, the incidents of violence against women have increased. Several anecdotal references such as Cambodian,¹⁶ Filipino,¹⁷ Chinese¹⁸, South Asian,¹⁹ and Vietnamese²⁰

Graham-Bermann and Jeffrey L. Edleson (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2001), 35-65.

¹⁵ Robert Gough et al., "Strategies to Address Violence in the Lives of High Risk Youth," in *Ending the Cycle of Violence: Community Responses to Children of Battered Women*, ed. Einat Peled, Peter G. Jaffe, and Jeffrey L. Edleson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), 255-74.

¹⁶ B. A. Frye and C. D. D'Avanzo, "Cultural Themes in Family Stress and Violence among Cambodian Refugee Women in the Inner City," *Advances in Nursing Science* 16 (1994): 64-77.

¹⁷ Rocco A. Cimmarusti, "Exploring Aspects of Filipino-American Families," *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy* 22 (1996): 205-17.

¹⁸ Ko-lin Chin, "Out-of-Town Brides: International Marriage and Wife Abuse among Chinese Immigrants," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 25 (1994): 53-69.

¹⁹ Shamita Das Dasgupta and Sujata Warriar, "In the Footsteps of 'Arundhati': Asian Indian Women's Experience of Domestic Violence in the United States," *Violence Against Women* 2 (1996): 238-59.

validate the existence and high prevalence of Asian immigrant family violence.

Korean immigrant families, like other immigrant groups, experience common immigration-related problems such as immigration stress, frustration, isolation, language barriers, financial hardship, unemployment, and intergenerational conflict. However, one of the most serious and urgent issues currently facing the Korean immigrant families is spouse abuse. In terms of prevalence, Korean immigrant families are reported to experience the highest rate of domestic violence among Asian American communities.

The following statistics demonstrate the seriousness of spouse abuse in the community. First, while only comprising 13% of the Asian population of Los Angeles County (1990 US Census), Koreans make up a disproportionate percentage of reported domestic violence cases, according to the Los Angeles City Attorney's

²⁰ Hoan N. Bui and Merry Morash, "Domestic Violence in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community," *Violence Against Women* 5, no. 7 (July 1999): 769-95.

office, comprising over 80% of the overall cases among Asian Pacific Islanders in 1995.²¹

Second, Robert Cha, a deputy city attorney of the Los Angeles city attorney's office, stated that Korean Americans constitute the highest number of domestic violence cases of all Asian Pacific Islanders.²² In addition, according to the report of the members of the Los Angeles Police Commission, 15% of domestic violence cases are related to Korean immigrants and three Korean perpetrators are arrested on an average every month because of domestic violence.²³

Third, the statistical report presented by the KAFSC indicates that domestic violence accounts for the highest percentage (13.3%) of all cases serviced by the Center in 2003. In addition, the KAFSC has provided a domestic violence batterers' program since 1989. At any given

²¹ "The Seriousness of Domestic Violence in Los Angeles Korean Community," *Korean Central Daily*, 2 August 1996, A2.

²² Gena Yang, "The Intergenerational Transmission of Domestic Violence in Korean Community," *Korean Daily News*, 22 October 2004, A2. Robert Chan spoke of the seriousness of violence against women in the Korean immigrant community at a Domestic Violence Awareness Month Workshop at Korean American Family Service Center on October 20, 2004.

²³ "Domestic Violence Is Serious Problem in Korean Community," editorial, *Korean Daily News*, 13 Oct. 2004, A12.

time, 50 to 60 male batterers are enrolled in the KAFSC's court-mandated batterers' treatment program held in Korean. However, similar batterers' treatment programs held in other languages at the Little Tokyo Service Center and the Chinatown Service Center report only 6 to 12 male clients at any one time. Finally, several research studies on domestic violence among Korean immigrant families commonly reported that spouse abuse is serious and prevalent in the Korean immigrant community.²⁴ In fact, the issue of domestic violence in North American families has received "selective inattention" for many years. It has not been viewed as a serious social and public health problem affecting women and their families from all racial and socioeconomic backgrounds until around the past three decades when the human rights movement of the 1960s and the feminist movement of the

²⁴ For a discussion on domestic violence among Korean immigrants families see Bonnie Ahn, "The Perceptions of Attitudes Toward Partner Abuse among First Generation Korean-Americans: Their Relationships to the Incidence of Partner Abuse" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2002); Hyeseop Lie Shin, "Violence and Intimacy: Risk Markers and Predictors of Wife Abuse among Korean Immigrants" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1995); Young In Song, *Battered Korean Women in Urban America: The Relationship of Cultural Conflict to Wife Abuse*, Ph.D. Diss., Ohio State University, 1986 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1986).

1970s provided impetus for research in this area. These consciousness-raising movements increased our awareness of violence against women with its emphasis on gender equality between husband and wife. Since then, much research and many studies have addressed the issue in the fields of psychology, mental health, social work, law enforcement, women's studies, and pastoral theology. Knowledge from research on the violence against women has advanced significantly in North America during the past decade.

In contrast, there are very few studies specifically and professionally directed to this area in the Korean immigrant community even though the community in the United States is rapidly growing,²⁵ and becoming more aware of the many incidences of domestic violence among Korean immigrant families.

In the case of perpetrators, there has generally been little study done to this date. It is an "invisible problem" like elder abuse, child abuse, and alcoholism in

²⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. According to the Census, Korean immigrants are one of the fastest growing minorities in the Asian-Pacific Islander group in the United States. While Korean Americans make up 0.4% of the total U.S. population, they represent the fifth largest group among Asian immigrants.

many societies. Korean immigrant perpetrators of domestic violence, a minority within an ethnic minority, have received almost no attention in the social and pastoral research literature, nor have social services, pastoral care or counseling been adequately provided for them in Korean faith communities. This lack of research on Korean male batterers does not mean that they do not have any serious problems, but rather, it suggests that the existing problems have not yet been thoroughly examined and documented.

In addition, it is imperative to examine domestic violence in light of religious and pastoral circumstance, considering that many Korean immigrant male batterers are Protestant Christians, and that the Korean immigrant church is recognized as one of the most influential and important resources in the Korean immigrant community. It is estimated that there are 1064 Korean churches in California²⁶ and 83.5% of the Korean immigrants attend

²⁶ In Sil Shu, "3,528 Korean Immigrant Churches in North America," *Christian Today*, 7 January 2004, A2. According to the report, 3,528 Korean immigrant churches are in North America. Among them, 1,064 Korean immigrant churches are in California in 2003.

church at least once a week.²⁷ Further, the Korean ethnic church has served as the hub of spiritual, social, emotional, and practical support during their season of immigration. Church involvement is a way of life for the majority of Korean immigrants in the United States. Hence, the Korean immigrant churches can play a very influential role in developing and implementing faith community interventions for the prevention of family violence.

These faith community-based interventions will help plant the seed of changing cultural norms and value systems that endure and accept violence against women. Some of these seeds will flower subsequently in increasing the public's awareness of spouse abuse in the Korean immigrant community. Thus, we cannot overemphasize the necessity for more studies, a holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community.

²⁷ Won Moo Hurh and Kwang Chung Kim, "Religious Participation of Korean Immigrants in the United States," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990): 19-34.

Thesis

Korean Christian immigrant male batterers will have identifiable cultural and religious beliefs about gender inequality, a past history that includes observing and experiencing violence in one's family of origin and/or in a broader culture, and personal reports of past violence that distinguish them from other Korean Christian immigrant men who are not known to batter. The primary purpose of the study is to explore from a pastoral care and counseling perspective the impact of religious and cultural patriarchal beliefs about gender inequality, and of witnessing past violence among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers. These elements are posited as major potential contributing factors to violence against women.

There are two objectives in this study. First is to explore a population of Korean Christian male immigrants who are known to be batterers, and to compare them to other Korean male Christian immigrants who have not been publicly identified as batterers. The comparison will consist of the impact of religious, cultural, and social variables, as these are associated with the major contributing factors to violence against women in Korean

immigrant families. Secondly, the objective is to develop a theoretical holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse in Korean faith communities.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation will be the first systematic study, as far as I know, to explore domestic violence of Korean Christian immigrant male batterers from a religious, pastoral, cultural, and social perspective in Korean immigrant families. The findings of this dissertation will make several important contributions. First, the study will provide a broad baseline of data that would generate further social and pastoral research, and facilitate the development of culturally sensitive pastoral intervention and prevention of domestic violence in Korean faith communities. Second, this dissertation will enable Korean pastoral caregivers to provide effective pastoral care and counseling to Korean immigrant families. It is intended to enable Korean pastoral caregivers, including mental health professionals, to respond to their care-seekers with the problem of wife abuse by utilizing responsive and

effective pastoral care and counseling skills. Finally, the study will bring two research methods together. This method will be complementary in that one method alone could not provide proper understanding of particular religious, cultural, and social contexts in which domestic violence takes place among Korean immigrant families.

Scope of the Study

In the growing interest of work on domestic violence, this study will focus on the impact of religiously, culturally, and socially related variables on Korean Christian immigrant male batterers as significant predictors to the likelihood of wife abuse in Korean immigrant families. This study is limited to Korean Christian immigrant male batterers who are enrolled in a 52-week court-mandated domestic violence batterers' treatment program at the Korean American Family Service Center. The study may represent only a small number of Korean Christian immigrant male batterers in the Korean immigrant community.

Organization of the Study

The goal of this dissertation is to learn about domestic violence from Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and develop a holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of family violence in Korean immigrant faith communities. After the introduction of chapter 1, chapter 2 will review the literature of risk factors and predictors of the likelihood of wife battering as well as useful theories for explaining the etiology of violence against women among the Korean immigrant families.

Chapter 3 will focus on the research design and methodology of the study.

Chapter 4 will present the data which have been accumulated, provide quantitative and qualitative analysis of the information gathered and evaluate the relevance of the hypotheses.

Chapter 5 will present discussions, limitations of the study, implications for pastoral care and counseling, theological considerations, and conclusions. Appendix, questionnaires, and correspondence will be included.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review discusses specific experiences of domestic violence among Korean immigrant families. Included is a summary of several research studies on spouse abuse within the Korean immigrant community in the United States. The risk factors and predictors of the likelihood of wife battering will be highlighted. A clear understanding of risk factors associated with male batterers may not only help us understand the roots of domestic violence but also develop more effective prevention. This section will also explore useful theories for explaining the etiology of violence against women among the Korean immigrant families.

Domestic Violence among Korean Immigrant Families

Domestic violence is a widespread social problem occurring in all economic, cultural, and ethnic groups. Even though violence against women has been a major problem in society, the issue of domestic violence in ethnic minority immigrant groups in the United States has not been discussed and examined comprehensively. Our

knowledge of domestic violence in Korean immigrant families is also much more limited.

The issue of spouse abuse did not become a concern in Korean immigrant community until the middle of the 1980s. Empirical research investigating domestic violence among Korean immigrant families appeared in 1986. In researching domestic violence in Korean immigrant families, nine major works have addressed this issue over the last two decades.

Sun Bin Yim's study, "Korean Battered Wives," was the first research on violence against women in the Korean immigrant community. This study found two main cultural causes of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant families; (1) the traditional acceptance of spouse abuse in these families, and (2) traditional subordination of women to male authority in these families.¹ In addition, the impact of social-structural influence on wife abuse including unemployment or underemployment, length of residence, language

¹ Sun Bin Yim, "Korean Battered Women: A Sociological and Psychological Analysis of Conjugal Violence in Korean Immigrant Families," in *Korean Women in a Struggle for Humanization*, ed. Harold Hakwon Sunoo and Dong S. Kim (Memphis, TN: Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America, 1978), 171-99.

proficiency, job satisfaction, and extended family relationship were observed in the Korean immigrant families.

A more comprehensive study was done by Young In Song in 1986. Later her original research was published in 1996 as a book with the title, "Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families: The Silent Scream." Song interviewed one hundred fifty Korean immigrant women who resided in Chicago for more than 10 years. Her study found that 60% of these women experienced abuse by their partners, 24% of the battered women were abused at least once a week, the majority (57%) of the women had been hit by their spouses with a closed fist and 70% suffered bruises as a consequence of violence.² Korean women with more traditional attitudes, Korean couples with rigid traditional gender roles, and stress-evoking life situations were also indicated as positive factors of spouse abuse among Korean immigrant families.³

² Young In Song, *Battered Korean Women in Urban America: The Relationship of Cultural Conflict to Wife Abuse*, Ph.D. Diss., Ohio State University, 1986 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1986), 86-89.

³ Ibid., 121-25.

Among the data collected on the respondents' demographic characteristics, the majority (74%) of the women reported religious beliefs, and 53% of the respondents were Protestant Christians, while 18% were Buddhist and 10% were Catholics.⁴ Christian women tended to endure more than other women even though it is difficult to explain a Christian woman's reasons for staying in an abusive relationship.⁵ Further, in the case of crisis management and problem-solving methods, Korean women significantly underutilized any professional help by reason of language barrier, shame and unawareness of formal services.⁶

In 1992, Jae Yop Kim explored the contributing factors of conjugal violence among Korean American families in Chicago and New York.⁷ He studied 256 Korean American families selected at random to depict wife battering; he found interrelations between conjugal

⁴ Ibid., 86.

⁵ Ibid., 123-24.

⁶ Ibid., 125.

⁷ Jae Yop Kim, *Conjugal Violence in Korean American Families* Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1993 (Ann Arbor, MI:UMI, 1993).

violence, marital power structure, stress, and socioeconomic and cultural factors. The study found that a male-dominant couple, a higher level of stress, and the residual influence of the traditional culture were significantly related with spouse abuse.

A few years after Jae Yop Kim's study, Judy Kim focused on a feminist case study of domestic violence in the lives of five Korean American women.⁸ She conducted in-depth interviews with women of color, utilizing three themes: influence of socialization, failure of institutions, and trauma and recovery in terms of a new feminist reinterpretation of domestic violence. The research found that the influence of patriarchal socialization was sustained and perpetuated throughout the experiences of domestic violence in the women's lives. Moreover, the institutions of the police, the government, the health care system, the legal system, and religious organizations also contributed to sustaining and perpetuating domestic violence.

⁸ Judy H. Kim, "Silence and Invisibility: A Feminist Case Study of Domestic Violence in the Lives of Five Korean-American Women." (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998).

In 2002, Ahn studied the perceptions of, and attitudes toward, partner abuse among first generation Korean-Americans who were residing in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in 2002.⁹ Her study analyzed 223 Korean immigrant adults and found that wife abuse was highly prevalent. Further, it revealed that a younger age, shorter residence in the United States, unemployment, and Confucian and Buddhist culture identification were closely related to occurrences of domestic violence.

Recently, Eunju Lee investigated the relationships between domestic violence and coping strategies utilized by 136 Korean immigrant women who were residing in the Austin and Dallas areas in Texas in 2003.¹⁰ The study indicated that religious involvement, alcohol use by a male partner, and physical assault experienced in childhood had significant relationships with domestic violence. Also, the study found that age, English proficiency, length of residence, immigration stress,

⁹ Ahn, "The Perceptions of Attitudes toward Partner Abuse among First Generation Korean-Americans: Their Relationships to the Incidence of Partner Abuse."

¹⁰ Eunju Lee, "Domestic Violence and Coping Strategies Among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

alcohol consumption, and at-risk drinking had a significant relationship with coping strategies.

In summary, all previous research studies indicated in common that prevalence of spouse abuse among Korean immigrant families was exceptionally high. Also, these studies revealed that the influences of socialization of traditional patriarchy and violence-tolerant norms of marital relationships in the society were the most predictive factors of violence against women among Korean immigrant families. Several other factors such as stress-evoking situations, alcohol abuse, and the experience of violence in childhood were also examined as positive predictors of occurrences of wife abuse among Korean immigrant families.

While the previous studies focused on Korean battered women and families as their research subject, the following three studies specifically turned their attention to Korean males and/or batterers. In 1993, In Jong Hong examined 52 court-mandated Korean immigrant male batterers in the Los Angeles area, from an

ecosystemic perspective.¹¹ His study found that Korean traditionalism as a macrosystem, rigid gender roles as a microsystem, and witnessing a past history of violence in a family of origin were major contributing factors to domestic violence in Korean immigrant families.

In 1995 Shin examined risk markers and predictors of wife abuse among Korean immigrants in Southern California.¹² She recruited a sample of 99 Korean immigrant men from the community to depict the problem of violence against women in the Korean immigrant community, and found that at least one-third of respondent men used physical force upon their wives in the past year. The study indicated that witnessing parental violence in childhood, attitudes toward wife beating, and the level of marital satisfaction were predictors of the occurrence of wife abuse among Korean immigrants. Further, in comparison to non-batterers, batterers had witnessed more parental violence in childhood, experienced higher levels

¹¹ In Jong Hong, "Male Batterers: An Ecosystemic Analysis of Conjugal Violence in the Korean Immigrant Family" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1993).

¹² Shin, "Violence and Intimacy: Risk Markers and Predictors of Wife Abuse among Korean Immigrants."

of stress, justified wife beating more, and felt less satisfied with their marriages.

A few years after Shin's study, Yu analyzed 64 Korean male batterers who were enrolled in the 52-week court-mandated batterers treatment program at the Korean American Family Service Center, and 105 community men, to explore the relationship between immigration and domestic violence among Korean immigrant families.¹³ She compared the risk factors and predictors of the likelihood of wife battering among Korean immigrant men, and found that Korean male batterers tend to be younger, less educated, in a lower income bracket, in lower occupational categories, have a higher frequency of marriage, shorter years of marriage, and have fewer years of U.S. residency. Further, the mean levels of immigrant life dissatisfaction, emasculation, and female resistance were significantly higher for the batterers than for community men, while the level of traditional gender role attitudes showed no statistical difference between the two groups.

¹³ Sung-Hue Yu, "Domestic Violence in Korean Immigrant Families" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2000).

The present study, to a certain extent, is based on the Hong's and Yu's previous study of Korean male batterers. This study, like Hong's and Yu's study, analyzes Korean male batterers who enrolled in the 52-week batterers' treatment group at the KAFSC.

However, unlike Hong's and Yu's research that explored violence against women in the Korean immigrant community from sociological and/or psychological perspectives, this study explores the issue of Korean Christian male perpetrators of domestic violence from a pastoral care and counseling perspective. It compares Korean Christian immigrant male batterers to Christian community men in order to explore the impact of religious and cultural patriarchal beliefs about gender inequality and its relationship with wife abuse, assess the impact of witnessing past violence among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers, and develop a holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of domestic violence in Korean faith communities.

In fact, domestic violence cannot be viewed as the domain of any one discipline and needs to be studied from

inter/multidisciplinary perspectives.¹⁴ No one approach is able to comprehend the enormity of the family violence problem. Family violence that has a multifaceted phenomenon can be best understood from a multidisciplinary approach. Even though other studies address the values of sociological, psychological and feminist perspectives of family violence, the pastoral study and analysis should be valued as well. Thus, an interdisciplinary approach to the study of domestic violence is necessary to obtain comprehensive knowledge of spouse abuse and the most effective solutions to it.

Theories of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence can be understood from various theoretical perspectives. Numerous theories have been postulated to improve our understanding of the causes of wife abuse even though there is currently no consensus on its etiology. Over 30 different theories were used to

¹⁴ For a discussion of interdisciplinary perspectives of family violence see Lynette Feder, ed., *Women and Domestic Violence: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New York: Haworth Press, 1999).

explain the factors of violence against women.¹⁵ Gelles and Straus inventoried 15 different theories and organized them into three broad categories (intra-individual theory, social psychological theory, and sociocultural theory), which seemed to be relevant in understanding family violence among family members.¹⁶

Given the extent of the literature, it is necessary to limit the scope of this review. It is also not my intention to review all the theories related to violence against women. Rather, this section will only review selected theories useful in explaining violence against women in the Korean immigrant families as pertinent to the population of interest and theoretical foundations in this study. The review of theories of domestic violence will be divided into the societal level (Macro-level), which focuses on the role of societal factors, and the individual and/or couple level (Micro-level), which

¹⁵ Michele Harway and James M. O'Neil, "What Causes Men to Be Violent Against Women?," in *What Causes Men's Violence Against Women?*, ed. Michele Harway and James M. O'Neil (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), 9.

¹⁶ Richard J. Gelles and Murray A. Straus, "Determinants of Violence in the Family: Toward a Theoretical Integration," in *Contemporary Theories about the Family*, ed. Wesley R. Burr et al. (New York: Free Press, 1979), 561-68.

utilizes situational and intrapersonal factors to explain the etiology of spouse abuse.

Microlevel Theories

Microlevel theories account for violence against women through the behaviors of an individual perpetrator or victim rather than whole societal factors. In other words, these theories explain why an individual in the family is violent. Microlevel theories can be divided into two groups: individual (intrapersonal) theories and interpersonal theories.

Intrapersonal theories explain violent behaviors in terms of characteristics of the abuser or the victim such as biological propensities, psychopathology and psychological traits. On the other hand, interpersonal theories including - cycle-of-violence, trigger theory and wheel-of-control theory - explain violence against women in terms of the interactions between individuals in a specific relationship. This review will include three microlevel perspectives: intrapersonal theories (psychopathology theories), situational explanations, and social learning theory. These theories explain the

possible causes of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant families.

Intrapersonal Theories. Psychopathology theories, also referred to as abnormal behavior or mental disorder, look for personality disorder, some form of psychiatric illness and immature personality as the possible casual factors of wife abuse. On the other hand, other studies have focused on psychological traits which are less severe but contribute to the perpetration of domestic violence.¹⁷ For example, a high proportion of domestic violence perpetrators report more depression, lower self-esteem, and more aggression than non-violent intimate partners.¹⁸ Other profiles of violent men suggest that

¹⁷ For a discussion of psychological analysis of family violence see K. Daniel O'Leary, "Through a Psychological Lens: Personality Traits, Personality Disorders, and Levels of Violence," in *Current Controversies on Family Violence*, ed. Richard J. Gelles and Donileen R. Loseke (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 7-30; Donald G. Dutton and Mark Bodnarchuk, "Through a Psychological Lens: Personality Disorder and Spouse Assault," in *Current Controversies on Family Violence*, ed. Donileen R. Loseke, Richard J. Gelles, and Mar M. Cavanaugh, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 5-18.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Sandin, et al., "A Brief Review of the Research on Husband Violence: Part I: Maritally Violent Versus Nonviolent Men," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 2, no. 1 (1997): 67-68; Daniel G. Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," *Social Casework* 65 (1984): 347-48.

they are extremely jealous,¹⁹ dependent,²⁰ have borderline and antisocial personality styles,²¹ have a narcissistic personality styles,²² and hostility.²³ Abusive men often have poor communication and social skills²⁴ and are more anxious about abandonment than non-abusive men.²⁵ Yim also explained the abusive behavior of some Korean

¹⁹ Amy Holtzworth-Munroe, Gregory L. Stuart, and Glenn Hutchinson, "Violent Versus Nonviolent Husbands: Differences in Attachment Patterns, Dependency, and Jealousy," *Journal of Family Psychology* 11 (1997): 314-31.

²⁰ Karen Howes Coleman, "Conjugal Violence: What 33 Men Report," *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy* 6 (1980): 208-09.

²¹ Kevin L. Hamburger and James E. Hastings, "Personality Correlates of Men Who Batter and Nonviolent Men: Some Continuities and Discontinuities," *Journal of Family Violence* 6 (1991): 131-47.

²² Ron Beasley and Cal D. Stoltenberg, "Personality Characteristics of Male Spouse Abusers," *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 23 (1992): 310-17.

²³ Joan B. Zegree, et al., "Anger, Hostility, and Depression in Domestically Violent Versus Generally Assaultive Men and Nonviolent Control Subjects," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 56 (1988): 17-23; Patrick C. McKenry, Teresa W. Julian, and Stephen M. Gavazzi, "Toward A Biophysical Model of Domestic Violence," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57 (1995): 317.

²⁴ Amy Holtzworth-Munroe, "Social Skill Deficits in Maritally Violent Men: Interpreting the Data Using a Social Information Processing Model," *Clinical Psychology Review* 12 (1992): 605-17.

²⁵ Sandin et al., 69.

husbands in terms of personality disorder even though the study was not sufficient to elucidate violence against women in the Korean immigrant community.²⁶

However, psychopathological theories have been criticized due to the use of a small sample size, no comparison groups, generalization from psychiatric or prison populations, and failure to consider actual situational factors in battering relationships.²⁷ Another drawback is limited evidence to support the theory and insufficient explanation of abnormal personality traits that are associated with violence.²⁸ Moreover, many researchers claim that these theories not only overlook or minimize the social context within which assaults occur²⁹ but also decrease the abuser's responsibility for his actions.³⁰

²⁶ Yim, 173.

²⁷ Mildred D. Pagelow, "Adult Victims of Domestic Violence," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 7, no. 1 (1992): 107-08.

²⁸ Gelles and Straus, "Determinants of Violence in the Family," 561.

²⁹ Murray A. Straus, "Wife Beating: How Common and Why?" *Victimology* 1 (1977): 54-76.

³⁰ O'Leary, "Through a Psychological Lens," 12.

Situational Explanations. Situational explanations in the environment help to predict the probability of an assault by a man who has some proclivity to abuse his partner; they focus on alcohol, stress and socio-demographic characteristics. Alcohol use is frequently associated with violence between intimate partners. Several studies have examined the situational relationship between alcohol use and domestic violence.³¹

The National Family Violence Survey interviewed a nationally representative sample of 5,159 families in 1985, and revealed that alcohol was involved in about 25% to 85% of all instances of violence against women.³² Other research found that 60% to 70% of marital batterers

³¹ For a discussion of substantial associations between alcohol use and violence see Brenda A. Miller, "The Interrelationship between Alcohol and Drugs and Family Violence," in *Drugs and Violence: Causes, Correlates, and Consequences*, ed. Mario De La Rosa, Elizabeth Y. Lambert, and Bernard Gropper (Washington, DC: GPO, 1990), 177-207; Diane H. Coleman and Murray A. Straus, "Alcohol Abuse and Family Violence," in *Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Aggression*, ed. Edward Gottheil, Keith A. Druley, Thomas E. Skoloda, and Howard M. Waxman (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1983), 104-24.

³² Glenda Kaufman Kantor and Murray A. Straus, "The Drunken Bum Theory of Wife Beating," *Social Problems* 34 (1987): 223-24.

have had a history of alcohol abuse.³³ Moreover, incidences of marital violence tend to be more frequent and serious among men with alcohol problem than those of men free of alcohol problems.³⁴

Eunju Lee's study also revealed a strong link between alcohol use by a Korean male partner (i.e., alcohol consumption, alcohol dependence, and at-risk drinking) and physical abuse of wives among Korean immigrant families.³⁵ According to the findings of Shin's study in 1995, alcohol consumption of a Korean immigrant man decreases the level of marital satisfaction and increases the level of stress and the incidence of wife abuse.³⁶

Alcohol use per se is, however, not a sufficient and necessary causal agent of wife abuse even if there is a substantial association between alcohol use and family

³³ Beth Gorney, "Domestic Violence and Chemical Dependency: Dual Problems, Dual Interventions," *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 21 (1989): 230.

³⁴ Lenore E. Walker, *Battered Women Syndrome* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1984), 43-44, 67-71.

³⁵ Lee, "Domestic Violence and Coping Strategies among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States," 2003.

³⁶ Shin, "Violence and Intimacy: Risk Markers and Predictors of Wife Abuse among Korean Immigrants," 1995.

violence. Other researchers have indicated that alcohol was directly involved in wife assault instances.³⁷ In addition, batterers who assault their spouses when they are drinking may also batter when they are sober.³⁸ Thus, although there are mixed views about the role of alcohol in domestic violence, it is probably safe to say that alcohol can facilitate violent behavior in a marital relationship.

There is considerable evidence that stress-evoking factors are often linked to wife assault. Even though stress itself does not directly cause violence, stressful life events resulting from such factors as unemployment, poverty, job dissatisfaction, and financial difficulties are frequently associated with episodes of wife battering.³⁹ Stress usually gives perpetrators the feeling

³⁷ Richard J. Gelles, "Alcohol and Other Drugs Are Associated with Violence - They are not Its Cause," in *Current Controversies on Family Violence*, ed. Richard J. Gelles and Donileen R. Loseke (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 183; Walker, 13.

³⁸ L. Nisonoff and I. Bitman, "Spouse Abuse: Incidence and Relationship to Selected Demographic Variables," *Victimology: An International Journal* 4 (1979):131-39.

³⁹ Murray A. Straus, "Social Stress and Marital Violence in a National Sample of American Families," in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, ed. Murray A. Straus and Richard J. Gelles (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1990), 181-201; Karyl

of frustration and loss of control, which can play a major role in wife battering.⁴⁰ Thus, it is reported that the more stressful the situation, the higher the rate of violence between couples.⁴¹

Stress during the process of immigration adaptation is also associated with the occurrences of domestic violence. For example, Song's study indicated that stress-evoking factors, especially language and social isolation, affect the level of wife abuse among Korean immigrant families.⁴² In Hong's study on Korean immigrant male batterers, job dissatisfaction as social stress and the level of conjugal violence were significantly correlated.⁴³ Shin's study also revealed that substantial

E. MacEwen and Julian Barling, "Multiple Stressors, Violence in the Family of Origin, and Marital Aggression: A Longitudinal Study," *Journal of Family Violence* 3 (1988): 73-87.

⁴⁰ Joni E. Prince and Ielana Arias, "The Role of Perceived Control and the Desirability of Control among Abusive and Nonabusive Husbands," *American Journal of Family Therapy* 22 (1994): 126-34.

⁴¹ Straus, "Social Stress and Marital Violence in a National Sample of American Families," 190.

⁴² Song, *Battered Korean Women in Urban America: The Relationship of Cultural Conflict to Wife Abuse*.

⁴³ In Jong Hong, "Male Batterers: An Ecosystemic Analysis of Conjugal Violence in the Korean Immigrant Family."

dissimilarity in stress level was found between Korean immigrant men hitting female partners and those who did not.⁴⁴ Recently, Lee's findings confirmed that stress-evoking factors and levels are significantly relevant to the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrant families.⁴⁵

Finally, research findings make it clear that various socio-demographic variables such as age, socioeconomic status, and unemployment are likely to increase the occurrence and severity of husband-to-wife violence. Young people are more violent to their spouse even though the reason is currently unknown.⁴⁶ Several studies indicate that wife abuse is more likely to occur in families of low income, lower education and

⁴⁴ Shin, "Violence and Intimacy: Risk Markers and Predictors of Wife Abuse among Korean Immigrants."

⁴⁵ Lee, "Domestic Violence and Coping Strategies among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States."

⁴⁶ J. Jill Sutor, Karl Pillemer, and Murray A. Straus, "Marital Violence in A Life Course Perspective," in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, ed. Murray A. Straus and Richard J. Gelles (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1990), 305-17; Helen S. Pan, Peter H. Neidig and K. Daniel O'Leary, "Predicting Mild and Severe Husband-to-Wife Physical Aggression," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 62(1994): 975-81.

occupational status even if it is a widespread social problem occurring in all socioeconomic classes.⁴⁷

For Korean immigrant families, Yu's study found that in examining risk factors related to social-demographic variables, Korean male batterers are more likely to be younger, less educated, with lower incomes, and belonging to lower occupational categories than community men.⁴⁸ According to Lee's findings, age, occupation and the length of residence in the United States were also associated with the occurrences of domestic violence.⁴⁹ Especially, the younger the individuals were, the more abusive acts they employed.

However, it should be remembered that even though lower socioeconomic status has been found to correlate with the occurrence of wife abuse, this does not mean that it is solely a phenomenon of poor families. Spouse

⁴⁷ Gerald T. Hotaling and D. Sugarman, "An Analysis of Risk Markers in Husband to Wife Violence: The Current State of Knowledge," *Violence and Victims* 1 (1986): 101-24; Martin J. Howell and Karen L. Pugliesi, "Husbands Who Harm: Predicting Spousal Violence by Men," *Journal of Family Violence* 3 (1988): 15-27; Murray A. Straus, Richard J. Gelles, and Suzanne K. Steinmetz, *Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980).

⁴⁸ Yu, "Domestic Violence in Korean Immigrant Families."

⁴⁹ Lee, "Domestic Violence and Coping Strategies among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States."

abuse occurs in all segments of society and is a problem that affects us all, both directly and indirectly.

In general, socioeconomic discrepancies or inconsistencies between husband and wife in an assaultive marital relationship have been theoretically explained with resource theory. The theory posits that the greater the amount of resources a person can command, the more force he can muster.⁵⁰ In other words, a husband who wants to be dominant in the family and has few resources (such as money, property, and prestige, etc.) is likely to use violence to maintain control. Allen and Straus revealed from their findings that a "wife's possession of superior resources can undermine the ability of the husband's resources to validate superior power, thus leading to the substitution of a resource in which wives can rarely be superior to their husbands: physical violence."⁵¹

⁵⁰ William J. Goode, "Forces and Violence in the Family," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33 (1971): 624-36.

⁵¹ Craig M. Allen and Murray A. Straus, "Resources, Power and Husband-Wife Violence," in *The Social Causes of Husband-Wife Violence*, ed. Murray A. Straus and Gerald T. Hotaling (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 203.

Song also stated in her study that "status inconsistency of couples in employment is found to be indicators in predicting greater occurrences of wife abuse in the Korean family."⁵² Thus, one would expect that these discrepancies threaten the loss of a man's socially prescribed status of dominance over his spouse and lead him to batter his wife in order to restore and maintain dominance in his marital relationship.

Social Learning Theory. One of the popular explanations of what causes domestic violence is based on social learning theory, by Albert Bandura in 1969. A more complete form was developed in 1977 in his book, Social Learning Theory.⁵³ A primary mechanism in this theory is learned through modeling and maintained by social rewards. People learn social and cognitive behaviors by simply observing and imitating others. As O'Leary states, "We observe other people and from their observation, we form ideas of how new behaviors are

⁵² Song, *Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families*, 124.

⁵³ Albert Bandura, *Social Learning Theory* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977).

performed. In turn, these coded observations serve as guides for further actions."⁵⁴

Proponents of this learning theory approach believe that the family is the primary ground of socialization that influences and determines each individual's behaviors. People learn, through modeling, to be violent when they grow up in violent homes and environments. Within their family, they not only learn how to deal with stress and frustration but also may experience and witness battering incidents.

The intergenerational transmission of violence is one of the most consistent etiological explanations of violence against women. The theory maintains that violence is transmitted from the family of origin to the adult intimate dyad through the vicarious reinforcement of interpersonal violence as a method of conflict resolution and a means to the maintenance of power and control in intimate relationships. Many researchers reported that when people are exposed to violence as a

⁵⁴ K. Daniel O'Leary, "Physical Aggression between Spouses: A Social Learning Theory Perspective," in *Handbook of Family Violence*, ed. Vincent B. Van Hasselt, Randall L. Morrison, Alan S. Bellack, and Michel Hersen (New York: Plenum Press, 1988), 33.

child, either as a witness or as a victim of parental abuse, they are more likely to be in a violent marital relationship in adulthood.⁵⁵

Hong's, Shin's and Lee's studies also explored the family of origin and the intergenerational transmission of violence among Korean immigrant families, and commonly stated that, as batterers and individuals experience and witness more violence in their childhood, they are more likely to use violence against their spouses. For example, Lee's study revealed that most respondents, 72.8% (N=136), reported experiences of physical assault in childhood.⁵⁶

Furthermore, in Korean culture physical punishment is widespread and documented as the most common form of

⁵⁵ Alan Rosenbaum and K. Daniel O'Leary, "Marital Violence: Characteristics of Abusive Couples," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 49 (1981): 63-71; P. L. Caesar, "Exposure to Violence in the Families-of-Origin among Wife Abusers and Maritally Nonviolence Men," *Violence and Victims* 3 (1988): 49-63; Gayle Margolin, Linda Gorin Sibner, and Lisa Gleberman, "Wife Battering," in *Handbook of Family Violence*, ed. Vincent B. Van Hasselt et al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1988), 95-97; Debra Kalmuss, "The Intergenerational Transmission of Marital Aggression," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 46 (1984):11-19.

⁵⁶ Lee, "Domestic Violence and Coping Strategies among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States," 2003.

punishment.⁵⁷ One of the many contributing factors of violence against women is exposure and experience with physical punishment in schools, and battery during service in the armed forces, which result in the desensitization of people regarding their tolerance of violence.

There are, however, controversies about the cycle of violence. First, there are no definitive conclusions regarding why a particular woman is battered and why men are more likely to abuse their partner than women.⁵⁸ Second, the theory is insufficient to explain the fact that not everyone who was abused as a child grows up to be violent.⁵⁹ Another criticism espoused by feminist researchers is that social learning theory not only can be used by perpetrators to deny responsibility for their behavior but it ignores the patriarchal nature of society

⁵⁷ Sondra S. Doe, "Cultural Factors in Child Maltreatment and Domestic Violence in Korea," *Children and Youth Services Review* 22, nos. 3/4 (2000):231-36.

⁵⁸ Edward W. Gondolf, *Men Who Batter: An Integrated Approach to Stopping the Abuse* (Holmes Beach, FL: Learning Publication, 1985), 30-31.

⁵⁹ Joan Kaufman and Edward Ziegler, "Do Abused Children Become Abusive Parents?" *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 57 (1987): 186-92; Pagelow, "Adult Victims of Domestic Violence," 86-120.

and the power and control issues involved in spouse abuse.⁶⁰ Social learning theory is, however, a fruitful approach that has received repeated empirical support, and provides a useful rubric for conceptualizing spouse abuse in spite of these criticisms, which may be valid.

Macrolevel Theories

Macrolevel theories account for violence against women by explaining how broad, social and cultural conditions may allow and promote it. These theories aim to identify and explain the cultural norms and social structural factors of domestic violence that make family members prone to violence. This review will include two macrolevel perspectives that are useful for understanding violence against women among Korean immigrant families: patriarchal theory and cultural acceptance of violence.

Patriarchal Theory. Patriarchal theory, espoused by many feminist researchers, explains domestic violence in terms of cultural/social prescriptions and/or religious beliefs that foster an arrangement of dominance by males

⁶⁰ Richard A. Stordeur and Richard Stille, *Ending Men's Violence against Their Partners: One Road to Peace* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 28-31.

and regard violence as a method by which to maintain social control and male power over women. As Dobash and Dobash state, "men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western society - aggressiveness, male dominance, and female subordination - and they are using physical force as a means to enforce that dominance."⁶¹ In other words, violence against women is one manifestation of a system of male dominance that has existed historically and across cultures.

The primary inquiry of feminist researchers, theorists, and service providers is to address why men in general use physical force against their spouses. As an answer to this question, they support the idea in which women are in a patriarchal society and the use of violence to maintain male patriarchy is accepted. Studies of the relationship between spouse abuse and patriarchal norms have increased in terms of two broad categories: (1) the link between patriarchy as a social

⁶¹ R. Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, *Violence against Wives: A Case against the Patriarchy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 24.

system and wife abuse; (2) the relationship between the balance of power within marriages and wife battering.⁶²

Yllo and Straus in 1990 examined the relationship between the rates of wife beating and patriarchal social structure, and indicated that there is a positive relationship between structural inequality and level of wife abuse.⁶³ They also pointed out another possibility from their study that in states where the status of women is highest, the rate of wife beating is also quite high because some men are more likely to resort to violence in an attempt to retain control and power over their wives.⁶⁴

The social and cultural conditions of women such as legal and economic deprivation, unequal status, sexual exploitation, and primary child and family care responsibility as the preferred status of the wife/mother role for women usually serve to maintain violence against women. Furthermore, as to the relationship between the

⁶² Kersti A. Yllo and Murray A. Straus, "Patriarchy and Violence against Wives: The Impact of Structural and Normative Factors," in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, ed. Murray A. Straus and Richard J. Gelles (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 383.

⁶³ Yllo and Straus, "Patriarchy and Violence against Wives," 383-399.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 392-94.

rates of wife beating and patriarchal family norms, Yllo and Straus revealed that "[t]here is a linear association between patriarchal family norms and wife beating.

States with male-dominant norms have twice as much wife beating as states with more egalitarian norms."⁶⁵

Several studies provided more direct empirical support for the patriarchal roots of wife abuse. Stith and Farley reported data suggesting a direct link between wife abuse and (a) non-egalitarian sex-role attitudes, and (b) approval of marital violence.⁶⁶ Kanto and Straus also found that approval of violence toward a female intimate partner was a more reliable predictor of wife abuse than occupational status or level of alcohol use/abuse.⁶⁷

Indeed, for Korean immigrant families, most of the previous research studies have confirmed a significant interrelationship between traditional Korean patriarchal

⁶⁵ Ibid., 398.

⁶⁶ Sandra M. Stith and Sarah C. Farley, "A Predictive Model of Male Spousal Violence," *Journal of Family Violence* 8 (1993): 183-201.

⁶⁷ Glenda K. Kantor and Murray A. Straus, "The Drunken Bum Theory of Wife Beating," *Social Problems* 34 (1987): 213. In this study, findings show that of blue-collar status, drinking, and approval of violence, cultural approval of violence has the strongest association with wife abuse.

culture and the incidences of wife battering. Kim's study revealed the traditional subordination of women to male authority as the cause of spouse abuse among Korean immigrant families. Song's research found that Korean immigrant women with more traditional attitudes toward patriarchal domination are more likely to experience wife abuse. Also, Hong's study suggests that more traditional Korean immigrant men are more likely to use violence against their spouse. Especially, Judy Kim's findings that focused on a feminist case study reveal that the influences of socialization of patriarchy were sustained and perpetuated throughout the experiences of spouse abuse in Korean women's lives. Recently, Ahn's findings confirmed that Confucians who view women as inherently inferior to men were more abusive than Protestants.

Furthermore, religions that have perpetuated basic patriarchal assumptions about women's subordinate status, have contributed to and legitimized family violence. The traditional Christian theological ideas which posit the inferiority of women and the submission of women to men justify the control of wives by husbands, with violence being sometimes permissible to enforce control.

As Ruether put it, "Domestic violence against women - wife battering or beating - is rooted in and is the logical conclusion of basic patriarchal assumptions about women's subordinate status. . . . The subordinate legal status of women was expressed in classical Christianity in an elaborate theory of the inferiority of woman's nature."⁶⁸ Dobash and Dobash also describe the interconnection between patriarchy and Christian principles this way:

Christian principles have had a most profound influence upon the cultural beliefs and social institutions of Western society. With respect to the relationship between husband and wife, it was not the revolutionary principles of equality but the retrogressive principles of patriarchy that were taken up most enthusiastically and vehemently by later Christians and that have largely prevailed.⁶⁹

However, although the theory provides a valuable explanation for understanding violence against women, it has been criticized due to the lack of empirical studies which might refute, modify, or strengthen the theory.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Western Religious Tradition and Violence against Women in the Home" in *Christianity, Patriarchy, and Abuse: A Feminist Critique*, ed. Joanne Carlson Brown and Carole R. Bohn (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989), 31-32.

⁶⁹ Dobash and Dobash, 40.

⁷⁰ Yllo and Straus. 383.

Dutton suggests that there is no empirical evidence suggesting a relationship between structural inequality and norms supporting violence against women.⁷¹ Also, Yllo indicated that the patriarchal perspective's focus on a qualitative approach that produces rich information lacks generalization.⁷² Another criticism is that the patriarchal theory attempts to explain violence against women in terms of only a single variable which is patriarchy.⁷³ However, not everyone raised in a patriarchal dominated culture uses violence against women. A single variable approach is insufficient as an explanation.

Cultural Acceptance of Violence. Cultural acceptance of violence assumes that violence is the product of widespread social approval. On many levels,

⁷¹ Donald G. Dutton, "Patriarchy and Wife Assault: The Ecological Fallacy," *Violence and Victims* 9 (1994): 167-82.

⁷² Kersti A. Yllo, "Using a Feminist Approach in Quantitative Research," in *The Dark Side of Families*, ed. David Frinkelhor, et al. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983), 277-88.

⁷³ Ricahrd J. Gelles and Claire Pedrick Cornell, *Intimate Violence in Families* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1985).

violence is an accepted, encouraged, and even glorified form of cultural expression.⁷⁴

This theoretical perspective may actually spill over into other areas of interpersonal interaction and contribute to the use of physical force or violence against women. Baron and Straus argue that societies that endorse the use of violence or physical force as a legitimate means to achieve desired ends contribute to violence against women.⁷⁵

In applying this perspective to Korean immigrant families, one can view wife abuse as a product of cultural norms or values. The patriarchal traditional values arising from Confucian ideology, and still governing the value systems and many aspects of Korean family life, view women as inherently inferior to men and prescribe the woman's role to be only in the domain of the household. Women who uphold cultural values by their

⁷⁴ Candace Kruttschnitt, Linda Heath, and David A. Ward, "Family Violence, Television Viewing Habits, and Other Adolescent Experiences Related to Violent Criminal Behavior," *Criminology* 24 (1986): 235-67.

⁷⁵ Larry Baron and Murray A. Straus, *Four Theories of Rape in American Society: A State-Level Analysis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

conformity and commitment to their female roles are also valued.

Furthermore, the traditional Korean family system distinctly divides gender roles between husbands and wives, and it has maintained a strong notion of male superiority, based on the teaching of Confucius. Overall, this aspect of Korean tradition has seriously undermined healthy and equal relationships between men and women and between parents and children.

The longstanding tradition of the Korean culture has allowed men to use violence as a means of controlling and disciplining their wives as well. The old Korean saying that "Dry fishes and women should be beaten up once every three days" and "If you let a woman pass three days without any beating, she will turn into a fox" illustrates the Korean cultural acceptance and perpetuation of violence against women. The long history of the restricted role and inferior status of women in the family and society has socialized not only Korean men but also women to accept that husbands can use physical abuse to control their spouses.

Song argues in her study that "Violent acts may have become a part of the lifestyleIn Korean society,

a violent husband will not be burdened by a guilty conscience because he is not criticized by the non-violent culture."⁷⁶ Hong's study, which can be understood and interpreted at the macro level, argued that conjugal violence is affected by a male-dominated social structure or traditional values based on inequality between husbands and wives. Thus, this perspective would be a useful explanation in examining the incidence of domestic violence among Korean immigrant families even though the theory cannot explain the question of why only some men use violence against women.

In summary, many explanations have been explored by researchers to explain why husbands abuse their wives. In addition, some useful theories and theoretical perspectives for explaining the etiology of violence against women among Korean immigrant families have been discussed. Although each perspective appears to be necessary, neither has proven to be a sufficient conceptual base for understanding the etiology and dynamics of wife abuse.

⁷⁶ Song, *Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families*, 57-58.

Patriarchal theory and cultural acceptance of violence are a central feature of the macro level theories. It seems clear that the patriarchal nature of our society and traditional norms and values concerning violence are involved in the etiology of violence against women. However, none of these broad theories alone provide a full account of spouse abuse. These theories are limited in predicting who will and who will not perpetrate violence. Thus, micro level theories are needed to complement this limitation.

Of the micro level theories, social learning has received the most empirical support. Many researchers have confirmed that children who witness their parents' aggression are more likely to engage in violence in their own adult intimate relationships. However, micro theories tend to ignore contextual and societal factors in explaining the etiology of domestic violence.

Therefore, the most useful micro and macro level theories should be integrated to understand domestic violence comprehensively. The present study will incorporate the insights of patriarchal theory, cultural acceptance of violence and social learning as the theoretical foundation. These theories can help us take

a comprehensive integrated approach to understand
domestic violence among Korean immigrant families.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The study presented here attempts to integrate a qualitative and quantitative method. Even though these two research methods are often compared and contrasted, the most useful research should require a balance of the qualitative and quantitative approaches to maximize the effectiveness of studies and to advance new and deeper insights and understanding of knowledge.¹

The quantitative approach employed a cross sectional survey using a matched group design due to the sensitive and dangerous nature of wife abuse.² This approach included a self-administered questionnaire survey for both Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and male members of Korean Christian communities who have not been publicly identified as batterers. The qualitative

¹ For a discussion of integrating qualitative and quantitative research methods see R. Murray Thomas, *Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Thesis and Dissertations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2003); Richard D. Howard and Kenneth W. Borland, Jr., eds., *Balancing Qualitative and Quantitative Information for Effective Decision Support*, New Directions for Institutional Research, no. 112 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2001).

² Royce A. Singleton, Jr. and Bruce C. Straits, *Approaches to Social Research*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

approach included in-depth interviews that were conducted by the researcher with Korean American domestic violence related service providers, community leaders, pastors and church leaders, survivors, and perpetrators.

Subjects and Sample Selection

The target population for the study was a sample of first generation Korean Christian immigrant men who live in greater Los Angeles. The sample was divided into a control group of Korean Christian immigrant male batterers who were enrolled in the 52-weeks court-mandated domestic violence batterers' treatment group from the KAFSC, and a group of Korean Christian immigrant men who were not publicly identified as batterers.

The study consisted of 57 Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and an equivalent number of Korean Christian immigrant men who were of similar social-demographic backgrounds but were not known batterers. In order to examine Protestant Christians' religious orientation, the investigator created five yes or no screening questions and asked them of both groups. These questions measured their religiousness and commitment. When each participant answered yes to all five questions,

the investigator regarded him as having a similar Protestant Christian orientation.

Another socio-demographic screening questionnaire was used to determine the eligibility of the study subject. The two groups were screened by age, educational level, and employment in order to ensure that batterers and non-batterers were both from similar socio-demographic population. The range of criteria were: being 25 to 65 years old, completion of a similar level of education (high school, college graduate, and Master's degree), and employment for the past year. When these two screening questionnaires were completed, the respondents were invited to participate in the study.

Data Collection Procedures

The following procedures were used by an investigator in collecting the data. An introductory letter, voluntary participation, informed consent and confidentiality were explained and ensured. An informed consent release was then signed by all subjects who agreed to participate in the survey. All instruments were translated into Korean by the investigator. Back translation was made to ensure the accuracy of the

translation. A copy of the instrument written in Korean was given to the participants. It was estimated that the survey would take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

The self-administered survey was conducted by group facilitators at the KAFSC. The entire process of data collection lasted 10 months from October 2005 to August 2006. A total of 79 surveys were collected from the KAFSC. Among the total of 79 possible subjects, three subjects were not included in this study because they did not finish the questionnaire. Thirteen subjects were not eligible because of different religious orientation. Six persons were removed from the male batterers' group in comparison analyses because of their socio-demographic ineligibility. Thus, the final sample consisted of 57 Korean Christian immigrant male batterers.

The second comparison group - Korean Christian community men - was also given the same survey questionnaire. In order to obtain a sample as a comparative reference group from the Korean Christian communities in greater Los Angeles, the method of convenient sampling was used. Well over one hundred and fifty Korean Christian immigrant men were initially approached, in several places. At first, different

denominational churches were contacted with regard to this study. Most of the respondents were from churches (n=107). Participants were also approached in other meeting places such as seminary (n=15), social service centers (n=18), and work sites (n=21). Individual consent was obtained for this comparative group. Statement of confidentiality and anonymity were also included in the survey. The survey was administered by the investigator during the period of November 2005 to March 2006. A total of 150 surveys were collected. Among the total of 150 possible subjects, forty-one subjects were not included in this study; nine cases were incompletely answered; twelve cases were removed from the control group because the Conflict Tactics Scales (Form N) indicated that they were physically violent toward their spouses in the past year. Nine persons were not similar to religious orientation and eleven subjects were not eligible due to different socio-demographic backgrounds. Thus, the final sample consisted of 109 Korean Christian immigrant men as the control group.

Instruments

To collect the necessary information on violence against women in Korean immigrant families, questionnaire surveys were developed. Three pretests were given to Korean Christian male batterers and Christian community men for the purpose of clarifying wording and meaning. The questionnaire surveys for both Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and Christian community men covered the following six main areas of measurement: (1) religious patriarchal attitudes about gender inequality and male dominance; (2) cultural patriarchal attitudes about gender inequality and male dominance; (3) observation and experience of violence in the past history of one's family of origin and/or broader culture; (4) level of domestic violence towards spouse or female partner during the past year; (5) level of effectiveness of pastoral intervention and prevention of partner abuse in Korean faith communities; (6) socio-demographic and descriptive information variables.

In order to shed light on the relationship between religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality and wife abuse, twelve questions were posed. Eight questions were adopted and/or modified from the Attitudes

Toward Christian Women Scale (ACWS).³ Based on this scale and the Protestant Christian background that I was raised in, the other five questions were created. A 4-point Likert scale was used ranging from 'strongly agree' (1) to 'strongly disagree' (4). Scores for this variable ranged from a possible low of 12 to a high of 48. The lower the final scores the higher the level of religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality.

Ten questions were posed to measure cultural patriarchal attitudes about gender inequality and male dominance. Four questions were adopted from the Korean Traditionalism Scale.⁴ Three questions were adopted from In Jong Hong's Attitude toward Korean Traditionalism Scale.⁵ Based on these two scales and Korean traditional culture, the investigator created three additional questions. A 4-point Likert scale was used ranging from 'strongly agree' (1) to 'strongly disagree' (4). The

³ Leslie E. Postovoit, "The Attitudes Toward Christian Women Scale (ACWS): Initial Efforts Towards the Development of An Instrument Measuring Patriarchal Beliefs," *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 9 no. 2 (1990): 65-72.

⁴ Song, *Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families: The Silent Scream*.

⁵ In Jong Hong, "Male Batterers: An Ecosystemic Analysis of Conjugal Violence in the Korean Immigrant Family."

possible scores for cultural beliefs about gender inequality ranged from 10 (the lowest) to 40 (the highest). A lower final score indicated a higher the level of cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality.

A man's past history of observing and experiencing violence in his family of origin and/or broader culture was also measured.⁶ Six questions were posed to examine the impact of witnessing past violence among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and community men. Three questions were modified from Incidence of Exposure to Violent Models.⁷ Based on this scale and clinical involvement with a batterers' group, the investigator created three questions. A 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from 'Almost Never' (1) to 'Almost Always' (5), was used. Scores for this measure ranged from a low of 1 to a high of 30. A lower final score indicated a higher level of past history of witnessing violence in the man's family of origin and/or broader culture.

⁶ Sheena Sethi and Martin E. P. Seligman, "Optimism and Fundamentalism," *Psychological Science* 4 (1993): 256-59.

⁷ Linda P. Rouse, "Models, Self-Esteem and Locus of Control as Factors Contributing to Spouse Abuse," *Victimology* 9, no. 1 (1984): 130-41.

In order to assess the incidence and nature of domestic violence of Korean Christian male batterers, Straus's Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) was used.⁸ The CTS was also administered to Korean Christian immigrant male batterers in order to obtain information about possible violence and prevent them from being recruited automatically as a non-violent control group.

The CTS is used frequently for measuring the overt ways in which family members deal with conflicts. The CTS covers three categories: the reasoning scale, the verbal aggression scale and the violence scale. Because this study examined the overall nature and level of domestic violence, a total of 18 items was included in this questionnaire. There have been three versions of the CTS: form A, N and R. The study employed the N form, which was self-administered. Respondents were asked how often they engaged in such behaviors in the previous year instead of asking for all of the occurrences during the entire history of the relationship. A 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from 'never' (1), to 'almost everyday' (5) was used.

⁸ Murray A. Straus, "Measuring Intrafamily Conflict and Violence: The Conflict Tactics Scales," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41 (1979): 75-88.

To assess socio-demographic and descriptive information, the following items were included: (1) age, (2) education, (3) length of residence in the United States, (4) marriage status, (5) employment, (6) income status, and (7) occupation. Finally, in order to measure the effectiveness of pastoral intervention and prevention for domestic violence in Korean faith communities, eight questionnaire items were created by the investigator.

Qualitative Approach

Qualitative methods can be effectively used in the assessment of perceptions regarding violence causality, impacts, and recommendations for solutions. This section presents the findings from the in-depth interviews for domestic violence prevention and intervention in the Korean American immigrant community.

The main objective of the interviews was to identify the culturally effective approaches to preventing domestic violence in the community, thereby providing useful information for the future design of responsive, culturally appropriate and effective prevention efforts in faith communities. The section focuses on

discovering, describing, and interpreting interviewees' understanding of domestic violence. Main themes are identified, described and analyzed. Excerpts are selected and presented to shed light on various types of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community. This part begins with the description of the method, followed by a brief mention of the background of the interviewees, and discussion of the findings.

In-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher with a total of twenty interviewees including Korean American domestic violence related service providers, community leaders, pastors, survivors, and perpetrators. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with fourteen individuals, and telephone interviews with the remaining six. Interviews took approximately one hour to an hour and a half. During the interviews, a tape recorder was used and notes were taken. At the end of each interview, the investigator wrote down a summary of the session as well as personal assessments and thoughts. Data were collected during the five month period from October 2005 to February 2006.

An introductory letter, voluntary participation, and informed consent and confidentiality were explained and

ensured. An informed consent letter was then signed by all subjects who agreed to participate in the interview.

Using an interview protocol, three specific topics pertinent to the objective were covered: (1) cultural and religious issues that must be addressed in the designing of faith community intervention for prevention of domestic violence; (2) how to provide professional assistance and training about domestic violence to pastors and churches; (3) other recommendations and strategies.

A majority of the interviewees were knowledgeable about domestic violence issues in the Korean American community and have worked closely with the community in the social service fields. Specifically, three interviews represent the legal service field, including specialized domestic violence attorneys, and victim assistance specialists from the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, and the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles.

Eight interviews were with executive directors, program managers, and counselors of social agencies in the Korean and Asian American community, including Women's Shelter, Asian Pacific Women's Center, the Los

Angeles County Department of Probation, the Center for Pacific Asian Families, Korean Health Education, Information, and Research Center.

Five interviews were with people who are considered religious leaders and pastors, although they might not be experts on domestic violence issues. In addition, two survivors and two former perpetrator of domestic violence were interviewed. All of the interviewees were Korean Americans, mostly born in Korea. Ten interviewees were female.

Definitions of Terms

The following terms are defined in this study.

Domestic Violence: Domestic violence is generally defined as any physical, sexual, or psychological behavior carried out with intentional assault on a woman by her husband or a male companion with whom she is cohabiting, to control his female intimate partner.⁹

Based on this definition, domestic violence in this study is defined as the intentional physical assault of a wife

⁹ Murray A. Straus and Richard J. Straus, "Societal Changes and Changes in Family Violence from 1975 to 1985 as Revealed by Two National Surveys," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 48 (1986): 467.

by her husband or the abuse of a woman by a male companion with whom she is cohabiting. Also, domestic violence, partner violence, wife abuse, spouse abuse, wife assault, and conjugal violence are used in this study interchangeably.

Korean Christian Immigrant Male Batterers: Korean Christian immigrant male batterers for this study refer to Korean men who were born in Korea, immigrated to the U.S. and are now residing in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. They indicated being Protestant Christians, answered yes to all 5 questions of Protestant Christian Orientation in the questionnaire, were married or cohabiting with a female partner, and have been convicted of spouse abuse and were mandated by California state law to attend a 52-week court-mandated domestic violence program at the KAFSC.

Korean Christian Immigrant Male as a comparison group: Korean Christian immigrant males in this study refer to Korean men who were born in Korea, immigrated to the U.S. and are now residing in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. They indicated being Protestant Christians, answered yes to all 5 questions of Protestant Christian Orientation in the questionnaire, and were

married or cohabiting with a female partner. In making comparisons to the Korean Christian male batterers group, Korean Christian immigrant men have not been publicly identified as batterers. This means that the Korean Christian immigrant male group does not necessarily imply an absolute absence of domestic violence.

Korean American Family Service Center (KAFSC): The Korean Family Counseling and Legal Advice Center was organized in 1983 by a group of first generation immigrant Korean women. The Center was designed to provide crisis counseling to immigrant women facing situations of abuse in their homes. Since changing its name to the Korean American Family Service Center (KAFSC) in 1994, the Center has redefined its mission as supporting and strengthening Korean American families and individuals through counseling, education, and other social services in the greater Los Angeles area.

Since its inception, the KAFSC has offered culturally and linguistically appropriate individual and group counseling for the Korean immigrant community. Because its founding mission focused on domestic violence, the KAFSC has notably counseled thousands of domestic violence survivors over the past 18 years. In

addition to the expertise in service provision to individual domestic violence victims, the KAFSC is also recognized by the community as a leader in the domestic violence prevention campaign.

The KAFSC has provided a 52-week court-mandated batterers' treatment program for 9 years; it is the only Korean language batterer's program approved by the L.A. County Probation department. Currently, 67 batterers attend the program weekly.¹⁰

Religious and Cultural Attitude toward Gender

Inequality: The term 'religious and cultural attitude toward gender inequality' refers to how much Korean Christian immigrant males adhere to the religious beliefs and cultural ideology of gender inequality and male dominance.

Witnessing Past Violence in One's Family of Origin

and/or in the Broader Culture: Witnessing and/or experiencing past violence refers to how much Korean

¹⁰ The KAFSC and I collected and released data about social-economic information of batterers who attended batterers' treatment program from January 2000 to December 2004 on May 3, 2005. According to it, on average 69.9 batterers attend the program annually. For more information see Sang Yeop Back, "Perpetrators of Domestic Violence in Korean Community," *Korean Daily News*, 4 May 2005, A3; Ji Eun Hong, "Korean Domestic Violence Batterers," *The Korea Times*, 4 May 2005, A3.

Christian immigrant males were abused and/or witnessed violence in their family of origin and the broader culture.

Research Questions

Specifically, this study asks the following research questions.

Question 1: What are the similarities and differences between Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and non-batterers in terms of: a) religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality; b) cultural attitudes toward gender inequality; c) witnessing past violence in one's family of origin and in the broader culture; and d) demographic variables?

Question 2: What are the relationships among domestic violence, religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality, cultural attitudes toward gender inequality, witnessing past violence in one's family of origin and in the broader culture?

Question 3: What is an effective theoretical strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse in Korean faith communities?

Hypotheses

Based on the research questions and literature review, the following three hypotheses were proposed for religious patriarchal attitudes, cultural patriarchal attitudes and past history of observing and experiencing violence:

Hypotheses 1: Korean Christian immigrant male batterers will have higher religious patriarchal attitudes about gender inequality and male dominance than Korean Christian community men.

Hypotheses 2: Korean Christian immigrant male batterers will have higher cultural patriarchal attitudes about gender inequality and male dominance than Korean Christian community men.

Hypotheses 3: Korean Christian immigrant male batterers will have experienced a higher level of witnessing violence in their family of origin and/or broader culture than Korean Christian community men.

Statistical Analysis of Data

Data analyses for this study were performed using the SPSS Data Analysis System. Coding, data entry, and data analysis were completed by the investigator. The initial data analysis involved completing descriptive statistics for the sample as a whole. Socio-demographic and other differences between Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and Korean Christian community men will be presented.

Simple cross tabulations and chi-squares were used to examine the difference between Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and Korean Christian community men with regard to demographic variables. In order to determine statistically significant differences between batterers and Korean Christian community men, t-tests for the mean scores for the levels of religious patriarchal attitudes, cultural patriarchal attitudes, and past history of observing and experiencing violence in the family of origin and broader culture were also used. Statistical significance for both t-test and chi-square was set at the $p < .05$ level. When statistical tests showed a probability of less than the conventional .05 level ($p < .05$), results were considered statistically significant.

Chapter 4

Data Findings

Part I. Basic Quantitative Analysis

Descriptive Findings for the Total Sample

The chapter presents the findings of the data collected on the respondents' demographic characteristics. The following is an overview of the major demographic data of one hundred and sixty six participants residing in Los Angeles, California.

Age. Participants were asked to indicate their age. The participants' age ranged from 25 to 65 years of age, with average age of 42.50 years ($SD=7.52$). As shown in Table 1, seventy seven percent ($N=129$) of the participants were between the ages of 30 and 50. The participants in their 50's or more constituted eighteen percent ($N=30$). Only four percent ($N=7$) of the participants indicated their age as under 25 to 29.

Table 1: Age of Respondents

Variable Age	N 166	Frequency	Percent
25-29		7	4.2
30-39		55	33.1
40-49		74	44.6
50-65		30	18.1
Total		166	100

* Mean - 42.50; Standard deviation - 7.52

Education. Regarding education, the majority of participants indicated that they had a Bachelor's degree (N=79 or 48%) while eighteen percent (N=30) had less than high school education. The category reported by the fewest respondents was a graduate degree (N=23 or 14%).

Table 2: Education of Respondents

Variable Education	N 166	Frequency	Percent
High School		30	18.0
2 Year College		34	20.5
4 Year College		79	47.6
Graduate		23	13.9
Total		166	100

* Mean - 4.57; Standard Deviation - 0.94.

Length of Residence of Respondents. Participants were asked to indicate their length of residence in the United States. The majority of respondents (N=77 or 46%) had resided in the United States 20 years or less. Less than two percent (N=4) of the study participants indicated that they had lived in the United States for more than 31 years while three percent (N=5) of participants indicated the length of their residence as 5 years or less.

Table 3: Length of Residence in the United States

Variable Length of Residency	N 166	Frequency	Percent
Under 5		5	3.1
6-10		50	31.3
11-20		77	45.6
21-30		28	17.5
31 or more		4	2.5
Total		166	100

* Mean = 14.76; Standard Deviation = 6.96

Marital Status of Respondents. Eighty-nine percent (N=147) of participants indicated they were married while only one participant reported that he had never been

married. Marital status data for the study participants is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Marital Status of Respondents

Variable Marital Status	N 157	Frequency	Percent
Married		135	86.0
Cohabitation		3	1.9
Separated		5	3.2
Divorced		13	8.3
Widowed		1	0.6
Total		157	100

* Mean -1.35; Standard Deviation - 0.93

Occupation of Respondents. As shown in Table 5, participants were asked to indicate the type of occupation in which they were currently employed. Thirty-four percent (N=55) of participants indicated that they were self-employed. The next frequently reported categories were professional skilled work (N=25 or 15%), clerical (N=22 or 13%), and semi-professional (N=15 or 9%).

Table 5: Occupation of Respondents

Variable Occupation	N 161	Frequency	Percent
Student		6	3.7
Skilled Worker		14	8.7
Manual Worker		11	6.8
Prof. Skilled Worker		25	15.5
Self-Employed		55	34.2
Clerical		22	13.7
Semi-Professional		15	9.3
Professional		13	8.1
Total		161	100

* Mean - 5.86; Standard Deviation - 1.74

Income. The largest groups of respondents earned \$5,000 - \$7,000 (N=40 or 32%) and \$4,000 - \$4,999 (N=24, 24%) a month. The next most frequently reported categories were \$3,000 - \$3,999 (N=33 or 26%). Six percent (N=7) of participants reported that their family income was under \$2,000 a month.

Table 6: Income of Respondents

Variable Income	N 125	Frequency	Percent
Below \$500		2	1.6
\$501-\$999		1	0.8
\$1,000-\$1,499		2	1.6
\$1,500-\$1,999		2	1.6
\$2,000-\$2,499		4	3.2
\$2,500-\$2,999		10	8.0
\$3,000-\$3,999		15	12.0
\$4,000-\$4,999		33	26.4
\$5,000-\$7,000		40	32.0
\$8,000 or more		16	12.8
Total		125	100

* Mean - 7.54; Standard Deviation - 1.82

In summary, the participants' age ranged from 25 to 65 years of age, with average age of 42.5 years (SD=7.52). Participants' education level was as follows: 30 (18%) high school, 34 (20.5%) two-year college, 79 (47.6%) four-year college, 23 (13.9%), master's degree. The length of residency in the United States ranged from four to thirty five years. The mean length of residence for participants' was 14.84 (SD = 6.89). Participants' marital status is as follow: 147 (88.6%) married, 10 (6%) divorced, 5 (3%) separated, 3 (1.8%) cohabitation, 1

(0.6%) never married. In terms of occupation, 58 (35%) were self-employed. 22 (13.3%) and 13 (7.8%) were respectively clerical workers or salesperson and manual worker. In regard to income for the total sample, 33 (20%) and 40 (24%) of participants earned respectively \$4,000-\$4,999 and \$5,000-\$7,000 in monthly household income.

Comparisons between Korean Christian Immigrant Male
Batterers and Korean Christian Community Men

Age. As shown in table 7, the batterers showed an older age distribution than the Korean Christian community men. While thirteen percent (N=8) of the batterers were 39 years old or younger, forty-nine percent (N=54) of the Korean Christian community men were in this age group. The batterers in their 40's constituted fifty-eight percent (N=33) as a majority group. On the other hand, only twenty-eight percent (N=41) of the Korean Christian community men fell between the ages of 40-49 years. In terms of those aged 50 years or older, twenty-eight percent (N=16) of the batterers and thirteen percent (N=14) of the Korean

Christian community men were represented respectively.

The chi-square for the cross-tabulation in table 7 shows that an age variable was statistically significant between the two groups.

Table 7: Comparison of Age

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Age				51.13	0.038
25-29	2 (3%)	5 (4%)	7 (4%)		
30-39	6 (10%)	49 (45%)	55 (33%)		
40-49	33 (58%)	41 (28%)	74 (45%)		
50-65	16 (28%)	14 (13%)	30 (18%)		
Total	57 (100%)	109 (100%)	166 (100%)		

Education. In terms of educational comparisons, both groups demonstrated similar distribution patterns. Sixty-three percent (N=36) of the Korean Christian community men and sixty-one percent (N=66) of the batterers had attained a bachelor's degree and graduate education. The cross-tabulations in Table 8 show that there was no statistical significance with the chi-square of 1.93 ($p < .58$).

Table 8: Comparison of Education

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Education				1.93	0.58
High School	8 (14%)	22 (20%)	30 (18%)		
2 Yrs College	13 (23%)	21 (19%)	34 (20%)		
4 Yrs College	26 (46%)	53 (49%)	79 (48%)		
Graduate	10 (17%)	13 (12%)	23 (24%)		
Total	57 (100%)	109 (100%)	166 (100%)		

Length of Residency in the United States. In comparing the length of residency between batterers and Korean Christian community men, it was shown that both groups have resided in the United States between 10 and 20 years. Among the batterers, twenty-seven percent (N=15) lived in the U.S. for 21 years or longer, whereas among the Korean Christian community men, only fourteen percent (N=15) resided in the U.S. during the same period. The chi-square in Table 9 indicates that there is not a significant association between the battering status and length of residency in the U.S. ($p < 0.22$).

Table 9: Comparison of Length of Residency in U.S.

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Length of Residency				34.40	0.225
Under 5	4 (7%)	1 (1%)	5 (3%)		
6-10	17 (30%)	33 (30%)	50 (30%)		
11-20	18 (32%)	59 (54%)	77 (47%)		
21-30	15 (27%)	15 (14%)	30 (18%)		
31 over	2 (4%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)		
Total	57 (100%)	109 (100%)	166 (100%)		

Marital Status. Overall, the Table 10 shows that the Korean Christian community men tended to have a higher marriage status than the batterers. While ninety-five percent (n=95) of the Korean Christian community men were married, seventy percent (n=40) of the batterers were married. A total of 17 participants in the batterers group were cohabitating, separated or divorced, whereas only 4 participants were divorced in the Korean Christian community men's group. The chi-square for cross-tabulation in Table 10 shows a statistically significant association between the battering status and marital categories ($p < .001$).

Table 10: Comparison of Marital Status

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Marital Status				23.30	0.001
Married	40 (70%)	95 (95%)	135 (86%)		
Cohabitation	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)		
Separated	5 (9%)	0 (0%)	5 (3%)		
Divorced	9 (16%)	4 (4%)	13 (8%)		
Widowed	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)		
Total	57 (100%)	100 (100%)	157 (100%)		

Occupation. In terms of occupation, the batterers tended to have a higher frequency of blue-collar occupations than the Korean Christian community men. Thirty-one percent (N=17) of the batterers' group were manual or skilled workers while only seven percent (N=8) of the Korean Christian community men belonged to this same category. Also, seventeen percent (N=19) of the Korean Christian community men were engaged in clerical work whereas five percent (N=3) of the batterers belonged to this same category. As for the professional and semi-professional variable, eight percent (N=4) of the batterers and twenty-two percent (N=24) of the Korean

Christian community men belonged to this occupational category.

Overall, the occupational category with the highest number of batterers for both groups was self-employment. Thirty-eight percent (N=21) of the batterers and thirty-two (N=34) of the Korean Christian community men were self-employed (usually running small family businesses along with their spouses). Table 11 shows a statistically significant association between battering status and occupational categories ($p < .001$).

Table 11: Comparison of Occupation

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Occupation				24.84	0.001
Student	3 (5%)	3 (3%)	6 (4%)		
Skilled Work	11 (20%)	3 (3%)	14 (9%)		
Manual Work	6 (11%)	5 (5%)	11 (7%)		
Pro. Skilled Work	7 (13%)	18 (17%)	25 (15%)		
Self-employed	21 (38%)	34 (32%)	55 (34%)		
Clerical	3 (5%)	19 (18%)	22 (14%)		
Semi-Prof.	2 (4%)	13 (12%)	15 (9%)		
Professional	2 (4%)	11 (10%)	13 (8%)		
Total	55 (100%)	106 (100%)	157 (100%)		

Income. Overall, the income distribution for the Korean Christian community men was higher than that of the batterers. Table 12 clearly shows that thirty-six percent (N=39) of the Korean Christian community men made \$5,000 or more whereas only twenty-eight percent (N=15) of the batterers were in this income bracket. The income category with the highest number of batterers was between \$2,000 and \$2,999 while the Korean Christian community men's income was between \$4,000 and \$4,999. The chi-square for cross-tabulation in Table 12 shows a significant association between the battering status and income ($p < .037$).

Table 12: Comparison of Monthly Income

Variable	Batterers N(%)	Non- batterers N(%)	All N(%)	Chi- Square	P
Income				17.81	0.037
Below \$999	1 (2%)	2 (2%)	3 (2%)		
\$1,000- \$1,999	5 (9%)	3 (3%)	8 (5%)		
\$2,000- \$2,999	14 (27%)	10 (9%)	24 (15%)		
\$3,000- \$3,999	10 (19%)	23 (21%)	33 (20%)		
\$4,000- \$4,999	8 (15%)	31 (29%)	39 (24%)		
\$5,000- \$7,000	10 (19%)	28 (26%)	38 (24%)		
\$8,000	5 (9%)	11 (10%)	16 (10%)		

or more

Total 53(100%) 108(100%) 161(100%)

In summary, Korean Christian male batterers, who tended to be older, had less marital status in lower occupational categories and a lower income bracket than Korean Christian community men. The education and length of residence in the United States showed no statistically significant difference between the batterers and Korean Christian community men. The following is a summary of the comparisons between batterers and Korean Christian community men.

Table 13: Summary of Comparisons between Batterers and Korean Christian Community Men

Variable	Chi-Square	P Value
Age	51.13	<.038
Education	1.93	<.58
Length of Residency	34.40	<.225
Marital Status	23.30	<.001
Occupation	24.84	<.001
Income	17.81	<.037

Religious Patriarchal Attitudes Variables. The religious patriarchal attitudes scale, consisting of 12

questions, was intended to measure how much Korean Christian immigrant men adhere to the religious beliefs of gender inequality and male dominance. The Cronbach's Alpha test showed .76, indicating an acceptable value for internal consistency. According to Nunnally, in exploratory research, a modest reliability of .5 to .6 is considered sufficient, and even for basic research, reliability of .8 is acceptable.

Overall responses showed consistent patterns of higher religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality for the batterers than for Korean Christian immigrant men. Most batterers agreed that men are the right ministers of God's word and better naturally religious leaders than women, and that women should honor their husbands as the head of the family, be more humble and submissive to their husbands, and learn from men in obedience and quiet submission at church. Table 14 compares the response percentages of each question, for Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and for Korean Christian community men.

Table 14: Religious Patriarchal Attitudes toward Gender Inequality

	SA	A	D	SD
C1 Men are the right ministers of God's word because both God and Jesus Christ are men.				
Batterers	13%	55%	25%	7%
Community Men	5%	36%	49%	10%
C2 Wives are commanded to honor their husbands as the Head of the family				
Batterers	18%	42%	35%	5%
Community Men	7%	36%	51%	6%
C3 A woman is subservient to man because she originated from his rib.				
Batterers	14%	44%	35%	7%
Community Men	4%	38%	50%	8%
C4 A woman should learn from men in obedience and quiet submission at church.				
Batterers	16%	43%	32%	9%
Community Men	6%	34%	54%	7%
C5 It is the natural, God-given right of men to have power over women.				
Batterers	16%	54%	21%	9%
Community Men	8%	39%	45%	8%
C6 Men's superior strength and ability display the image of God more than women illustrate.				
Batterers	13%	42%	31%	14%
Community Men	5%	27%	57%	11%
C7 God calls women to be more humble and submissive to their husbands than their husbands are to them.				
Batterers	20%	45%	22%	13%
Community Men	9%	31%	49%	11%
C8 The Bible states that the equality of males and females is the Christian ideal.				
Batterers	9%	51%	24%	16%
Community Men	6%	24%	56%	14%
C9 The wife follows her husband's leadership to achieve greater conjugal unity in their marriage.				
Batterers	21%	50%	21%	8%
Community Men	10%	37%	49%	4%
C10 Both husband and wife are equal in the family, the work, the community, and the church.				
Batterers	9%	39%	48%	4%

Community Men	22%	47%	23%	8%
<hr/>				
C11 In worship or religious services, men and women should have equal status.				
Batterers	11%	65%	22%	2%
Community Men	20%	66%	12%	2%
<hr/>				
C12 Men are naturally better religious leaders than women.				
Batterers	9%	58%	26%	7%
Community Men	8%	34%	53%	5%
<hr/>				

* The following represents the response scale SA = strongly agree, A = agree, D = disagree, SD = strongly disagree.

Table 15 shows that the mean score of the religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality for the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers was lower than that of Korean Christian immigrant community men (28.48 vs. 31.97). The mean difference between the two groups is statistically significant ($p < .029$). Therefore, the first hypothesis of the study is supported by the data in this study, in that the batterers were found to have higher religious patriarchal attitude than Korean Christian community men.

Table 15: T-test for the Mean Score Difference between Korean Christian Immigrant Male Batterers and Korean Christian community Men with Religious Patriarchal Attitudes

	N	Mean	SD	T	P
Batterers	55	28.48	9.68	-2.26	.029
Community Men	105	31.97	8.78		

Cultural Patriarchal Attitudes Variables. The cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality scale consisted of 10 questions, which were intended to measure how much Korean Christian immigrant men adhere to the cultural ideology of gender inequality and male dominance. The Cronbach's Alpha test showed .56, an acceptable value for internal consistency.

Similar to the religious patriarchal attitudes scale, the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers seemed to be more patriarchal in their conjugal relationship. Most batterers agreed that Korean women should obey their husband, should yield to their husband when there is a difference of opinion, and should not participate in all occupations as men do. On the contrary, the batterers agreed that men are superior to women, should be in charge and make the final decisions,

and do not want to share in household responsibilities. See Table 16 for response percentages to each question from the batterers and the Korean Christian community men.

Table 16: Cultural Patriarchal Attitudes toward Gender Inequality

	SA	A	D	SD
D1 Korean women should obey their husband.				
Batterers	11%	65%	20%	4%
Community Men	3%	25%	64%	8%
D2 When there is a difference of opinion between a husband and wife regarding family matters, the wife should yield to her husband.				
Batterers	13%	46%	35%	6%
Community Men	0%	42%	53%	5%
D3 Though a male's extramarital relationship is acceptable, a woman's extramarital relationship is not acceptable.				
Batterers	15%	65%	11%	9%
Community Men	7%	16%	61%	16%
D4 The male head of a household should be in charge and make the final decisions.				
Batterers	25%	45%	26%	4%
Community Men	4%	49%	43%	4%
D5 Women have the right to participate in all occupations as men do.				
Batterers	4%	35%	57%	4%
Community Men	4%	63%	29%	4%
D6 Family matters need to be discussed and decided based on mutual agreement between husband and wife.				
Batterers	2%	36%	58%	4%
Community Men	19%	65%	13%	3%
D7 Do you agree with the Korean proverb, "If a hen crows, the household will crumble?"				
Batterers	13%	53%	50%	4%
Community Men	3%	26%	59%	12%
D8 Generally, men are superior to women.				

Batterers	15%	65%	11%	9%
Community Men	9%	60%	22%	9%
<hr/>				
D9 Husbands and wives should equally share in household responsibilities, such as cooking, washing dishes, and cleaning.				
Batterers	7%	24%	65%	4%
Community Men	11%	29%	55%	5%
<hr/>				
D10 A wife has as much right to end a marriage as does a man if she is not happy.				
Batterers	6%	26%	62%	6%
Community Men	15%	64%	17%	4%
<hr/>				

Table 17 indicates that the mean score of the cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality scale for the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers is lower than that of Korean Christian immigrant community men (22.72 vs. 27.54). The mean difference between the two groups is statistically significant ($p < .036$). Therefore, the second hypothesis of the study is supported by the data in this study, in that batterers were found to have higher cultural patriarchal attitudes than Korean Christian immigrant community men.

Table 17: T-test for the Mean Score Difference between Korean Christian Immigrant Male Batterers and Korean Christian Community Men Regarding Cultural Patriarchal Attitudes

	N	Mean	SD	T	P
Batterers	54	22.72	7.10	-4.22	.036
Community Men	105	27.54	6.67		

Witnessing Past Violence Variables. The witnessing past violence scale consisted of 6 questions. The scale was intended to measure how much Korean Christian immigrant males were abused and/or had witnessed violence in their family of origin and the broader culture. Cronbach's Alpha test showed .75, indicating an acceptable value for internal consistency.

Similar to the previous scales, the past history of witnessing violence scale indicated a higher past history of witnessing violence for the batterers than for Korean Christian immigrant men. More specifically, 66 percent of the batterers observed their father hitting or throwing something at their mother; 46 percent of them observed their mother hitting or throwing something at their father. Interestingly, 74 percent of the batterers and 70 percent of the Korean Christian immigrant men

agreed that they considered themselves to be a victim of physical abuse or punishment by teacher(s) in their school days. Further, a majority of respondents indicated that they considered themselves to be a victim of physical abuse or punishment while serving in the army. See Table 18 for response percentages to each question from the batterers and Korean Christian immigrant community men.

Table 18: Past History of Witnessing Violence

	Almost Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost always
E1 When you were a child (under the age of 18), you saw your father hit or throw something at your mother.					
Batterers	34%	40%	17%	7%	2%
Community Men	60%	32%	4%	3%	1%
E2 When you were a child (under the age of 18), you saw your mother hit or throw something at your father.					
Batterers	54%	32%	6%	2%	6%
Community Men	90%	7%	2%	0%	1%
E3 You consider yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment by your parent(s) when you were a child (under the age of 18).					
Batterers	50%	24%	22%	2%	2%
Community Men	79%	17%	3%	0%	1%
E4 You consider yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment by your teacher(s) in your school days when you were a child (under the age of 18).					
Batterers	26%	35%	31%	2%	6%
Community Men	30%	51%	16%	1%	2%
E5 When you were serving in the army, you consider Yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment.					

Batterers	13%	26%	42%	11%	8%
Community Men	11%	41%	42%	4%	2%
<hr/>					
E6 When you were a child (under the age of 18), you watched violent actions on televisions or movies.					
Batterers	19%	46%	20%	19%	0%
Community Men	45%	40%	10%	3%	2%

The mean score for past history of witnessing violence was lower for batterers than for Korean Christian community men (23.08 vs. 25.49) as shown in Table 19. The mean difference between the two groups was statistically significant ($p < 0.016$). Therefore, the third hypothesis of the study is supported by the data in this study, in that the batterers were found to have a higher level of witnessing violence in their family of origin and/or broader culture than Korean Christian immigrant community men

Table 19: T-test for the Mean Score Difference between Korean Christian Immigrant Male Batterers and Korean Christian Community Men with Past History of Witnessing Violence

	N	Mean	SD	T	P
Batterers	53	23.08	6.08	-3.24	.016
Community Men	101	25.49	4.46		

In summary, the t-test results showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the

batterers and Korean Christian immigrant men in the mean scores for religious patriarchal attitudes, cultural patriarchal attitudes, and past history of witnessing violence. Table 20 showed that all hypotheses are supported.

Table 20: Summary of the T-tests Results for the Mean Score Comparison between Korean Christian Immigrant Male Batterers and Korean Christian Immigrant Men as to Religious Patriarchal Attitudes, Cultural Patriarchal Attitudes, and Past History of Witnessing Violence

	Batterers	Community Men
Religious Patriarchal Attitudes	28.48 (N=55)	31.97 (N=10)
Cultural Patriarchal Attitudes	22.72 (N=54)	27.54 (N=105)
Past History of Witnessing Violence	22.08 (N=53)	25.49 (N=101)

Domestic Violence among Korean Christian Male

Batterers

The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) was used to measure the existence and the degree of verbal and physical violence in Korean Christian male batterers' families. The CTS covers the reasoning scale, the verbal aggression scale and the violence scale. Respondents were asked how often they engaged in such behaviors in the previous year

instead of asking all of the occurrences during the entire history of the relationship.

In the first three questions of the CTS, respondents were asked to report the use of reasoning tactics between themselves and their spouses in the past 12 months. The reasoning tactics which respondents indicated they had used most frequently are presented in Table 21. The reasoning scale range was 3 to 15 with a mean of 6.41 ($SD = 2.44$), a high score indicating that reasoning tactics were used more frequently.

The reasoning tactics that were most frequently reported by Korean Christian immigrant male batterers were "Got information to back up one side of things" ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.13$) and "Discussed the issue calmly" ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 1.09$).

Table 21: Response to the Reasoning Scale of the CTS

Item	N	Never* N(%)	Year	Month	Week	Everyday	M	SD
Discussed the issue calmly								
	53	18(40%)	16(30%)	15(28%)	1(2%)	3(6%)	2.15	1.09
Got information to back up one side of things								
	54	32(39%)	10(18%)	16(30%)	6(11%)	1(2%)	2.18	1.13
Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things								
	52	26(50%)	13(25%)	10(19%)	1(2%)	2(4%)	1.84	1.05

* The following represents the response scale Never = hardly ever, Year = once or twice a year, Month = once or twice a month, Week = once a week or more, Every day = almost every day.

The next five questions of the CTS were asked regarding the use of verbal aggression during the previous year. The mean was 10.6 with a standard deviation of 10.0 and the range was from 5 to 25.

The types of verbal aggression which respondents indicated they had used most frequently were "Refused to talk" ($M = 2.32$, $SD = .84$) and "Stomped out of room or house" ($M = 2.23$, $SD = .96$). However, other verbal aggressions that were reported to have been used least frequently were "Cried" ($M = 1.32$, $SD = .57$) and "Did or said something to hurt the other one" ($M = 1.92$, $SD = .81$).

Table 22: Response to the Verbal Aggression scale

Item	N	Never* N(%)	Year	Month	Week	Everyday	M	SD
Insulted or swore at the other one								
	53	17(32%)	25(47%)	8(15%)	3(6%)	0	1.94	.84
Refused to talk								
	53	7(13%)	27(51%)	15(28%)	3(6%)	1(2%)	2.32	.84
Stomped out of room or house								
	52	10(19%)	26(50%)	13(25%)	3(6%)	0	2.23	.96

Cried								
53	36(68%)	17(32%)	0	0	0	1.32	.57	
Did or said something to hurt the other one								
52	16(31%)	27(52%)	6(12%)	3(6%)	0	1.92	.81	

* The following represents the response scale Never = hardly ever, Year = once or twice a year, Month = once or twice a month, Week = once a week or more, Every day = almost every day.

The following eleven questions were asked regarding different types of physical violent behaviors and resultant injuries. The mean score of physical violence against spouses was 15.17 with a standard deviation of 4.90, and scores ranged from 5 to 50. Table 22 shows a summary of responses for verbal aggression of Korean Christian immigrant male batterers.

The violent behaviors which Korean Christian immigrant male batterers had used most frequently in the past 12 months were "Threatened to hit or throw something at the other one" ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .66$) and "Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one" ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .72$). On the other hand, other violent behaviors that they had used least frequently were "Used knife or gun" ($M = 1.07$, $SD = .26$) and "Threatened with knife or gun" ($M = 1.09$, $SD = .29$).

Table 23: Response to Physically Violent Behaviors

Item	N	Never* N(%)	Year	Month	Week	Everyday	M	SD
Threatened to hit or throw something at the other one								
	53	19(36%)	27(51%)	7(13%)	0	0	1.77	.66
Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something								
	53	21(40%)	27(51%)	4(7%)	1(2%)	0	1.71	.68
Threw something at the other one								
	55	24(43%)	26(47%)	3(6%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1.70	.80
Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one								
	53	20(38%)	26(49%)	6(11%)	1(2%)	0	1.77	.72
Slapped the other one								
	53	26(49%)	23(43%)	3(6%)	1(2%)	0	1.60	.68
Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist								
	52	38(73%)	11(21%)	3(6%)	0	0	1.32	.58
Hit or tried to hit with something								
	50	36(72%)	11(22%)	3(6%)	0	0	1.34	.59
Beat up the other one								
	54	48(89%)	5(9%)	1(2%)	0	0	1.12	.39
Threatened with knife or gun								
	53	48(91%)	5(3%)	0	0	0	1.09	.29
Used knife or gun								
	52	48(92%)	4(8%)	0	0	0	1.07	.26

* The following represents the response scale Never = hardly ever, Year = once or twice a year, Month = once or twice a month, Week = once a week or more, Every day = almost every day.

As a result of abuse, fifty one Korean Christian immigrant male batterers indicated that their spouses

received the following injuries: severe (3 emotional/mental distresses requiring medical care, 1 physical injuries requiring hospitalization); less severe (6 cuts, burns, or bruises requiring medical attention, 2 damage to teeth, 3 broken bones); moderate (26 bruises, 6 black eyes). In addition, eleven percent (N = 5) of the batterers indicated that the above behavior occurred when their spouses were pregnant.

The Level of Effectiveness of Pastoral Intervention and Prevention of Domestic Violence in Faith Communities

This section presents the findings of the level of effectiveness of pastoral care services and intervention and prevention of spouse abuse in Korean faith communities. We shall be concerned with participants' utilization of patterns of sources of help, utilization of pastoral care services, barriers to the use of pastoral care services, and understanding of intervention and prevention of domestic violence in their faith communities. Pastoral care service scale consisted of 8 questions.

In order to identify the patterns in problem management, participants were asked to report utilization of sources of help. As shown in Table 24, twenty eight percent (N=15) of the batterers usually went to friends or neighbors for help when they had personal and/or family problems. However, the majority of Korean Christian community men (36%) would seek help from pastors when they had problems. Interestingly, only two percent of the batterers and eight percent of Korean faith community men indicated that they would turn to counseling or a social service center for helping managing their problem. This result reveals that there is evidence of underutilization of social service agencies by both groups.

Table 24: Utilization of Sources of Help

	N	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7
G1 When I have personal and/or family problems, I usually go for help.								
Batterers	54	7 (13%)	4 (7%)	15 (28%)	12 (22%)	2 (4%)	12 (22%)	2 (4%)
Community Men	106	10 (9%)	5 (5%)	30 (28%)	38 (36%)	8 (8%)	9 (9%)	5 (5%)

* The following represents the response scale: 1 = wife, 2 = Relatives, 3 = Friends or neighbors, 4 = Pastor, 5 = Counseling center, 6 = Other, 7 = No place.

In the following three questions bearing on pastoral care and counseling, respondents were asked to report utilization of pastoral care and counseling services in their faith communities. The summary of responses is presented in Table 25.

Table 25: Utilization of Pastoral Care and Counseling

	N	Yes	No
G2 Have you heard about pastoral care and counseling.			
Batterers	53	15 (28%)	38 (72%)
Community Men	103	42 (41%)	61 (59%)
G3 Have you received pastoral care and counseling from your pastors.			
Batterers	53	12 (23%)	41 (77%)
Community Men	103	23 (22%)	80 (78%)
G4 If you said "yes" to question 3, was it effective and helpful to you?			
Batterers	16	10 (62%)	6 (38%)
Community Men	23	13 (57%)	10 (43%)

It is interesting to note that over half of the batterers and Korean Christian community men reported that they had not heard about pastoral care and counseling in their faith communities. In addition, it is not surprising that three-quarters of respondents indicated that they had not received pastoral counseling services from their pastors at all. They were less likely to turn to their pastors for receiving pastoral care services. However, over half of the respondents who received pastoral care services in their faith

communities indicated that the services were helpful and effective for them.

Furthermore, respondents were asked to identify the barriers to the use of pastoral care services. The majority of the respondents indicated a pastor's lack of understanding of domestic violence as one of the major barriers to the use of pastoral care services. Twenty seven percent of both groups indicated a confidentiality problem as one of the barriers. Nineteen percent of the batterers considered it shameful to admit the situation to pastors and congregations, and another nineteen percent of Korean Christian community men indicated that they did not know how to approach such pastoral care services. The summary of responses is presented in Table 26.

Table 26: Barriers to the Use of Pastoral Care Services

	N	1*	2	3	4	5
G5 If you know of any pastoral care services and need to seek help, yet do not utilize those resources, what stops you from doing so?						
Batterers	55	9 (17%)	14 (26%)	9 (17%)	19 (36%)	2 (4%)
Community Men	105	20 (20%)	28 (27%)	11 (10%)	44 (42%)	2 (2%)

* The following represents the response scale: 1 = Shameful to talk to a pastor and/or congregations, 2 =

Confidentiality or lack of trust, 3 = Do not know how to approach, 4 = Pastor's lack of specialty, 5 = Other.

The following three questions were asked regarding intervention and prevention of domestic violence in faith communities. In order to identify the patterns in intervention of domestic violence, a question was asked: When there is domestic violence in your family, you usually seek help from whom? For the batterers, the majority of them reported they would solve it by themselves. Twenty five percent of them indicated that they would turn to pastors for intervention in domestic violence. However, thirty six percent of Korean Christian community men indicated that they could freely ask for help from their pastors. The summary of responses is presented in Table 27.

Table 27: Intervention of Domestic Violence

	N	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7
G6 When there is domestic violence in your family, you usually seek help from whom?								
Batterers	53	7 (13%)	4 (7%)	13 (25%)	12 (23%)	16 (30%)	1 (2%)	0
Community Men	108	6 (6%)	18 (17%)	39 (36%)	21 (19%)	15 (14%)	8 (7%)	1 (1%)

* The following represents the response scale: 1 = Relatives or neighbors, 2 = Friends, 3 = Pastor, 4 = Social service center, 5 = By myself, 6 = No place, 7 = Other.

The next two questions were asked regarding prevention of domestic violence in their faith communities. Over sixty percent of both groups indicated that they had not ever heard about domestic violence in preaching or bible studies from their pastors. In addition, over ninety percent of both groups indicated that their faith communities had not provided any type of family violence prevention and/or educational program. The summary of responses is presented in Table 28.

Table 28: Prevention of Domestic Violence

	N	Yes	No
G7 Have you ever heard about domestic violence-related sermons or studies from your pastors?			
Batterers	53	19 (36%)	34 (64%)
Community Men	104	39 (41%)	63 (61%)
G8 Has your church provided any type of family violence prevention and/or educational program?			
Batterers	52	5 (10%)	47 (90%)
Community Men	102	8 (8%)	94 (92%)

Part II. Qualitative Analysis

The following section is comprised of the findings from the in-depth interviews for domestic violence prevention and intervention in the Korean American immigrant community. The main objective of the interviews was to identify culturally effective

approaches to preventing domestic violence in the community, thereby providing useful information for future design of responsive, culturally appropriate and effective prevention efforts in faith communities. This section focuses on discovering, describing, and interpreting interviewees' understanding of domestic violence. The main themes are identified, described and analyzed. Various excerpts are selected and presented to shed light on various types of meaning and understanding of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community.

Cultural and Religious Issues

Cultural issues. Traditional values arising from the Confucian ideology are the most important cultural issue that must be addressed in the faith community efforts to prevent domestic violence. Nearly all interviews identified the Confucian ideology as the most important cultural issue. According to their observations, the teachings of Confucius still govern the value systems, behaviors, and many aspects of family life, especially among first-generation Korean

immigrants. An interviewee described the issue as follows:

Still in the Korean American community, Confucian ideology, which views women as inherently inferior to men and prescribes the women's role to be only in the domain of the household, still prevails. Traditional Korean values have taught women to be obedient, submissive, patient, enduring, passive, and sacrificing. Accordingly, women who uphold cultural values by their conformity and commitment to their female roles are valued. The traditional Korean family system distinctly divides gender roles between husbands and wives, and it has maintained a strong notion of male superiority, based on the teachings of Confucius. Overall, this aspect of Korean tradition has seriously undermined healthy and equal relationships between men and women and between parents and children. Needless to say, there is strong need to effectively address this cultural issue in the community.

They further pointed out that "many Korean Americans hold the belief that men are superior and women belong to them, and this has led many to view violence against women as an acceptable behavior." An interviewee concluded by stating that "the Korean cultural and traditional attitudes toward enduring and accepting violence against women are the most serious obstacle to domestic violence prevention and intervention.

The researcher's interview with victims also noted that "In addition, the longstanding tradition of the Korean culture has allowed men to use violence as a means

of controlling and disciplining their wives. The old Korean saying that "Dry fishes and women should be beaten up once every three days" illustrates the Korean cultural acceptance and perpetuation of violence against women." The long history of the restricted role and inferior status of women in the family and society has socialized not only Korean men but also women to accept that husbands can use physical abuse to control their spouses.

Another important cultural issue to be dealt with in the community, according to several interviewees, is the attitudes of some Korean Americans toward domestic violence, particularly blaming the victims, as if it is the victims who caused the problem and broke up the family, while being tolerant of and sympathetic with perpetrators. They stressed a strong need to address "prejudice and judgments against victimized women from men and from other women."

There is another challenging cultural issue in developing the faith community interventions for prevention of domestic violence. Many Korean Americans are still reluctant to seek outside help, particularly professional care and counseling. Some interviewees identified this issue with the Korean culture, which

stresses that it is a shame to reveal family problems to outsiders, while others attributed it to a lack of trust of "strangers and professionals," skepticism about the help that they can get, and fear that their problems will be known by others.

One interviewed victim stated, "Many women feel embarrassed to seek assistance. It is not a good situation for a woman to keep domestic violence a secret." The popular Korean proverb, "To share one's family problems is like spitting up in the air...it will only fall on your face," captures the essence of this reluctance.

Other research indicates how strongly this value of not revealing family problems to outsiders is upheld in the Korean American community even in comparison with other Asian communities who also uphold this value. Among 609 participants interviewed in Massachusetts by the Asian Task Force against Domestic Violence, Korean respondents (29%) were the most likely of the Asian respondents to say that a woman being abused should not tell anyone about the abuse.¹

¹ Cheng Imm Tan et al., *Asian Family Violence Report: A Study of the Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, South Asian, and*

Shame is often described as an Asian preoccupation or social obsession. In actuality, it is a universal concern of human beings. However, although shame is a universal concern, one may characterize the Korean culture as a "culture of shame." Confucianism stresses outward dignity rather than inner sanctity, values sacrifice of individual interests for the welfare of the group, maximizes the importance of "ought-to," but minimizes the natural inclinations of instinct, need, and emotion. While concealing as much inner secrecy as possible, the Koreans minimize the portion of self to the outside.

On the contrary, Koreans tend to put high value on the harmonious integration of group members. An interviewed lawyer said that "Confucianism emphasizes human relationships and models what is expected in our behavior toward others. This leads to various sets of values, such as the concept of honor, reverence for

Vietnamese Communities in Massachusetts (Boston: Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence, Inc.; 2000), 9. According to this report, twenty-nine percent of Korean respondents compared with 22% of Cambodian respondents, 18% of Chinese respondents, five percent of South Asian respondents, and nine percent of Vietnamese respondents said that a woman being abused should not tell anyone about the abuse.

others, harmony, proper order in society, group orientation, and face-saving (Che-myun)."

Shame is more profoundly associated with the fear that one's inadequacies will result in the loss of face in the Korean traditional culture. Face-saving behavior is very important for Koreans in their public and social relationship. In the Korean family, the central issues of maintaining face protect the dignity and self-respect of the individual as well as of his or her family. To discuss personal, marital, or parent-child problems outside the family causes parents, spouse, and other family members to lose face.

Thus, the concern for family honor and face-saving make the acceptance of counseling an unattractive option. A major concern of many interviewees is that "because they try to solve problems by themselves, the problems tend to be getting worse for many." Clearly, there is a strong consensus among social and pastoral caregivers regarding the need to educate the faith community about "what specific services and resources are available, what these services can do for clients, confidentiality of the problems, and the importance of early intervention."

Religious Issues. In addition to the cultural issues described above, many interviewees identified a religious leader's role in domestic violence prevention as the most important religious issue. Regarding the importance of religious leaders' role in domestic violence prevention efforts, one interviewee explained that "in the case of the Korean immigrant community, church and Christianity are important aspects of Korean families since they have a strong influence on the mentality and beliefs of many Korean Americans. In addition, faith leaders are also often the first persons to whom victims turn for help. Therefore, church leaders should be aware of family violence issues themselves and refer victims and perpetrators to professional agencies." One victim described the issue as follows:

A pastor was one of the key individuals whom victims approach for assistance. I also did go to a pastor for help. Yet the type of assistance provided by the pastor was limited to sympathy, comfort, sharing and prayer...However, because the spiritual dimension is a significant component of a victim's life, I think that the church leaders' awareness of and willingness to address domestic violence are critical for effective prevention of the problem in the faith community.

The Korean American church is recognized as the most influential and important resource in the Korean

immigrant community. As mentioned earlier, 83.5% of the Korean immigrant populations attend church regularly. Many interviewees described the importance of Korean ethnic churches in their immigrant life as follows:

The Korean ethnic church has historically served as the center for religious, social, and political activities in the community. During their season of immigration, Korean Americans gather at the church for emotional as well as practical support from each other...Furthermore, Korean church leaders have a significant influence on the value system, familial life, and attitudes toward social issues, as well as the spiritual life of the majority of Korean Americans. Korean American immigrants with personal and familial problems often turn to their religious leaders for advice and help. This is also where many new immigrants from Korea learn about the American way of life and obtain information about available resources, including jobs and social services.

However, even though the Korean ethnic churches have the most important and influential resource in the community, the church and its leaders are also the most difficult target population to access and educate about domestic violence. In the research interviews with social agencies, most of them consistently stated that "the pastor's bias and closed mindedness regarding family violence are one of the various barriers to access and educate about domestic violence."

Many interviewees strongly felt that faith leaders who are predominantly first-generation Korean men holding traditional values and patriarchal bias, need to be educated about the problem and issues of domestic violence pertaining to the Korean American community. Unfortunately, pastors and churches are also deeply embedded in the Korean patriarchal culture.²

One interviewee argued that "no community-wide prevention effort can be fully successful unless it succeeds in convincing and turning these religious leaders into leaders against domestic violence." Another interviewee pointed out that "religious leaders should be aware of the family violence issue as I think most of the faith leaders, mostly male, are in denial. They seem to ignore the problem as women's issues and not concerning them directly."

Denial tends to be greatest when both victims and pastoral caregivers feel threatened by the reality that is experienced. Denial is also great when pastoral caregivers and educators believe that there are no visible resources to address the problem. Many

² It is important to note that patriarchal cultures are not limited to Korean culture.

interviewees argued that "pastors tend to deny that there are domestic violence issues in their own congregations and that Christians do not have family violence problems in their families. They are even more reluctant to seek outside consultation and help."

In fact, in the researcher's interviews, most pastors were uncomfortable working with outside social agencies. Although many pastors and churches are in great need of education about the various governmental and nongovernmental resources that are available, they just do not have relationships with such agencies. Many pastors are reluctant to work with outside agencies because of their reputation of being "family breakers." There is a fear factor that these agencies, with their emphasis on independence, will only cause a family to break up. Because of the pastors' priority on marriage preservation above all else, they rarely refer victims and perpetrators to outside resources.

In addition, faith leaders and churches are poorly equipped and trained in the area of domestic violence laws, pastoral care services and resources. In the researcher's interviews with counselors and victims, they stated that "when church members have family problems,

like domestic violence, and seek help or advice from their pastors, elders, or other church members, they are not well equipped to provide pastoral care and counseling and/or information about community resources." As a result, in many ways, the pastors and churches inadvertently and directly discourage victims from seeking safety and keep them from getting the assistance they need.

Interviews evaluating victims' reactions to discussing their abuse with faith leaders show that abused women rate the advice and counseling received from faith leaders as ineffective and not helpful. One victim said, "I don't trust pastors. And when I talk to them, they think that I am not a good woman or deserve to be treated that way by my husband." Another victim stated, "When I finally muster enough courage to seek assistance and guidance from my pastor, the advice I receive is to keep praying and forgive my husband...I am told to be more patient and wiser."

Such advice only reinforces the victim's belief that she should continue to tolerate the abuse and do nothing to save herself and her family. Those indicating dissatisfied reactions reported some of the advice

survivors were given by faith leaders: "Stay and work things out," "Try harder not to provoke him," and "Forgive and forget." In the researcher's interview with pastors, many pointed out that they give such advice because they are influenced by a theological belief that women should continue to be patient, forgive their abuser, and suffer like Jesus.

Also, there is a need for an educational program specifically tailored to pastors in order to raise their comfort level with and awareness of domestic violence. Faith leaders repeatedly expressed discomfort about educating their congregation about church resources for assisting victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. They stated that "it is a sensitive and private topic that would alienate many members of the congregation if it were presented inappropriately." It appears that both congregations and pastors need to receive a great deal of education on domestic violence to remove the stigma associated with it.

In summary, many interviewees repeatedly emphasize the importance of church leaders' role in domestic violence prevention. The first strategic target population for prevention of domestic violence should be

church leaders in the faith community. However, faith leaders often lack awareness of and knowledge about domestic violence and how to help the victims and perpetrators. Thus, faith leaders' education regarding the nature of family violence and willingness to address domestic violence issues is critical for effective prevention of the problem in the faith community.

Professional Assistance and Training for Pastors and Churches

As mentioned above, churches and faith leaders are in a great position to exert significant influences on the Korean American community and bring about real transformation in how the community handles domestic violence. In order to mobilize the faith community, it is, therefore, important to specifically tailor and identify programs for pastors and churches. Also, it is critical that the programs keep in mind the importance of raising the interest and comfort level of pastors and churches about a topic such as domestic violence.

Even though pastors are uncomfortable with the topic of domestic violence, all are interested in topics that strengthen and promote good families. Several service

providers and faith leaders stressed the need to develop programs for positive reinforcement of "prepared and healthy families" by offering activities for all family members. Moreover, they felt that parenting education and premarital counseling services are lacking in the faith community. Thus, to make domestic violence education more palatable in congregational settings is to include domestic violence training as part of family strengthening seminars. In the researcher's interviews, social agencies, victims and pastors all expressed the need for and their interest in such programs for the Korean faith community. If such training is packaged in "family strengthening" and "parenting" classes, congregation members are more likely to attend, and it will be easier for pastors to promote such classes in the church settings.

Another strategy is to incorporate programs that keep in mind that many victims and their families are more likely to approach assistant ministers, pastor's wives, female pastors, and church leaders for assistance because of their accessibility and comfort level. One female pastor pointed out, "Any training for pastors should involve such individuals as well since they are

more likely to be on the front line and in a position to detect domestic violence and provide assistance."

In addition, several interviewees from the legal and social service fields pointed out that domestic violence in many Korean immigrant families is related to substance abuse, particularly alcoholism, and gambling addiction. Even though the data of the exploratory study do not indicate specifically the relationship between substance abuse and battering, pastoral caregivers should keep in mind that many studies show a high incidence of alcohol and/or drug problems among men who abuse their wives. For this reason, they indicated that intervention programs for male batterers must be closely allied with substance abuse treatment programs such as Alcohol Anonymous (AA) if the interventions are to be effective.

Competing church priorities are another factor when they make the decision to receive personal training and to provide training for the congregation. In the researcher's interviews with pastors, they mentioned that many pastors had a demanding schedule and a limited budget that needed to be split in several ways to meet the needs of the congregation. As a result, pastors have limited time to focus on items other than priorities of

the church. Thus, one pastor stated, "In order to successfully catch the interest of pastors, training should focus on tapping into existing training opportunities for pastors, such semi-annual and annual denominational meetings, where they are a captive audience." It would also be critical to anchor such an effort by initially getting the support of key pastors who are in a position of influence, in order to minimize opposition from pastors.

Finally, in order to receive the attention of pastors, social agencies should provide various useful resources and training for domestic violence and its related topics that can also benefit other members of the congregation who are in need. Because many pastors serve the immigrant community, they are burdened with the task of providing social services to families in addition to ministering through the Word. Although most of the interviewed pastors have generally been in the United States for over 15 years, their knowledge and awareness of government and community resources are limited. In the interviews, most pastors expressed interest in receiving training and information on such resources. Resources should not only include programs specifically

targeted towards domestic violence but also other related concerns such as resources for substance abuse, gambling, and mental health. Since many social agencies are experts in this area, having to provide a comprehensive list of services to victims, perpetrators and their families, this opportunity can serve as one entrée to building a relationship and trust with the faith community.

Other Recommendations

The following are additional recommendations as to how to develop a holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse in Korean faith communities. First of all, the interviewees identified the youth as a target group for effective faith community intervention strategies and education for the prevention of family violence. One interviewee stated, "I believe prevention must begin at an early age, at least with those of middle school age, because once violence is learned, it is difficult to change the belief and behavior. So, the effort should be to start a program focusing on education with zero tolerance of violence." Another interviewee indicated, "We need to reach out more

to the young population because domestic violence is occurring in younger and younger people, and there are many issues in dating situations. Also, teaching non-violent behavior is more effective when they are young."

Thus, teaching non-violent behavior in the faith community is definitely needed. The possible activities include educational seminars/presentations in the faith community. Weekly church meetings might be utilized as the setting for the education: before and after meetings of the Sunday service and Korean school and weekly gatherings of small groups. By public statements and also through the role of helping to develop a family violence education emphasis for the youth in the faith community, pastoral caregivers help to plant the seed of preventing family violence in their life. Some of these seeds will have a preventive effect. Others will flower subsequently in pastoral care and counseling opportunities.

Secondly, there is a strong consensus among legal and social service providers of domestic violence that programs for victims, perpetrators, and their families as a whole do not exist in the faith communities, and that these services are the most needed in the community. In

interviews with social service providers and counselors, they pointed out that the most needed programs are support groups and counseling services for victims, perpetrators, and their children, focusing on healing, empowering victims, correcting batterers' behavior, and advice with children's problems and healing.

Currently, in the Korean immigrant community there are no other programs that we are aware of in the Korean language to help perpetrators of domestic violence. After going through the court-mandated 52-week batterers' treatment program, most of the perpetrators have changed some attitudes and behaviors. They have opened themselves up to the fact that they have a problem and need to change. After almost one year of treatment, they have started on the road to change. They are ready to participate in a more in-depth, supportive group. But, the program ends after 52 weeks.

In the researcher's interview with perpetrators, many stated that "we need community-based or church-based support group for ourselves and our families to learn how to have violence-free relationships in our life after completing the court mandated program." One victim mentioned that "I really want to get involved in the

support group when I see the changes that my husband goes through as well."

Thus, pastoral and social caregivers should develop and implement a church-based support program for Korean American immigrant families that are experiencing and have experienced domestic violence in the past, or are worried they may become violent. These kinds of programs are more likely to reduce family violence now in the present time and prevent the continuation of the cycle of violence in the next generation by healing the family bonds fractured by violence in their family.

The following are additional suggestions from the interviewees that pastoral and social caregivers should consider when they develop and implement church-based support group programs: 1) Find good qualified initiators and leaders; 2) Form a support group committee in church and define who has accountability for the program in the church; 3) Examine whether or not the program is safe for the victims and other family members; 4) Use widely accepted domestic violence education and treatment resources; and 5) Look closely at whether the theology of the church group and leaders is in conflict with current family violence philosophies and practices.

Finally, many interviewees recommend collaboration between churches and organizations in order to implement a holistic and effective strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse in Korean faith communities. However, there currently has been limited contact between these two groups because of reluctance on the part of both.

Among the agencies that were interviewed by the researcher, the few who have attempted to forge partnerships have had very limited success in gaining the support of and access to churches, due to lack of understanding of the faith community and lack of trust between the two communities. In the interviews with pastors, most pastors did not have strongly established working relationships with service agencies. Many of the interviewed pastors knew that an agency existed, but when asked if they had ever referred their members to such agencies, most responded that they had not.

In fact, every community has a network of social workers, mental health professionals and legal agencies that specialize in intervention, counseling, and prevention in situations of family violence. Collaborations with other organizations are especially

important in the faith community in order to share the community resources and expertise and strengthen their referral network.

The problem is, however, how to include other churches and organizations as ways of partnering with others to carry out the plan. To collaborate with other organizations, including faith communities, first of all, we need to know the available agencies and resources in the Korean American community. And then, we should participate creatively and actively in community collaboration work with other organizations in order to build upon existing strengths and resources within the community.

The following agencies are willing to share their valuable resources with the Korean American community to strengthen and empower families and communities: Asian Pacific Islander Domestic Violence Task Force, Batterer's Intervention Committee for Providers, Network Against Asian Pacific Domestic Violence, Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women (LACAAW). There are also women's shelters in the Greater Los Angeles area: Asian Pacific Women's Center, Home on the Green Pastures, and Center for the Pacific-Asian Family. On legal aspects of

helping people who are affected by domestic violence, we have Asian Pacific Legal Center and Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles. We also need to work with many law-enforcement agencies, including the Los Angeles County Probation Department, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, Department of Children and Family Services, Los Angeles City Attorney's Office, and Los Angeles City Attorney's Office Victim Assistance Program. In addition to the above agencies, the Korean American community has very helpful social agencies such as the Korean American Family Service Center (KAFSC), the Korean Youth & Community Center (KYCC), and the Korean Health Education Information referral Center (KHEIR). Finally, we have 534 ethnic churches in the Los Angeles area³, two major ethnic newspapers, three Korean-speaking radio stations, and three Korean speaking TV channels. With these collaborations, we should be able to implement the plans successfully and provide services in various domestic violence issues; these would include shelter services, community education, youth outreach, pastoral care and counseling, religious education, and legal aspects.

³ Information obtained from a 1999-2000 *Korean Business Directory* for the Greater Los Angeles area.

Chapter 5

Discussions, Limitations, Implications for Pastoral Care and Counseling, Theological Considerations, and Conclusions

Discussions

This study explored, from a pastoral care and counseling perspective, the impact of religious and cultural beliefs about gender inequality and the impact of witnessing past violence; these were strongly posited as major potential contributing factors to violence against women among Korean immigrant families. Specifically, the study has focused on Korean Christian immigrant men and examined socio-demographic and descriptive information variables, religious patriarchal attitudes, cultural patriarchal attitudes, observation and experience of violence in the past history of one's family of origin and/or broader culture, level of domestic violence towards spouse or female partner during the past year, and level of effectiveness of pastoral intervention and prevention of partner abuse in Korean faith communities.

The following list represents the major findings of the study.

1. Socio-demographic variables - The major demographic characteristic of the Korean Christian immigrant men included: their mean age was 42.50 years ($SD = 7.52$); the largest number of participants had received a Bachelor's degree ($n = 79$ of 48%); the mean years of residence in the United States was 14.76 years ($SD = 6.96$); the majority indicated that they were married ($n = 135$, or 86%); the greatest number of participants was self-employed ($n = 55$ or 34.2%); the largest number of participants indicated that they earned \$5,000 - \$7,000 a month ($n = 40$ or 24.1%).

2. The second major finding included the risk factors related to socio-demographic variables comparing Korean Christian immigrant male batterers and Korean Christian community men. The study found Korean Christian immigrant male batterers to be older (Table 7), have less marital status (Table 10), in lower occupational categories (Table 11), and in a lower income

bracket (Table 12) than Korean Christian immigrant community men. While thirteen-percent of the batterers were 39 years or younger, forty-nine percent of the Korean Christian immigrant community men were in this age group ($p < .038$). While ninety-five percent of the Korean Christian community men were married, only seventy-percent of the batterers were married ($p < .001$). In comparing the occupation categories, thirty-one percent of the batterers belonged to blue-collar occupations while only seven percent of the Korean Christian community group were engaged in this occupational category ($p < .001$). In terms of income comparisons, thirty-six percent of the Korean Christian immigrant men made \$5,000 or more per month whereas only twenty-eight percent of the batterers were in this income bracket ($p < .037$).

In identifying risk factors related to socio-demographic variables for Korean Christian immigrant male batterers, the findings of demographic characteristics such as occupation and income were related to the occurrence of

domestic violence. Our findings are supported by previous studies that showed the influence of various demographic characteristics on domestic violence. Research findings do indicate that a lower socioeconomic status is associated with a higher incidence of wife assault. Especially, Hotaling and Sugarman indicated that domestic violence was more likely to occur in families of low income, lower education and lower occupational status even if it is a widespread social problem occurring in all socioeconomic classes.

On the other hand, education and the length of residency were not significantly correlated to the occurrence of domestic violence. In regard to education comparisons, both groups demonstrated similar distribution patterns. Sixty-one percent of the batterers and sixty-three percent of the Korean Christian community men had attained a bachelor's degree and/or graduate education. In comparing the length of residency, it was shown that both groups have

resided in the United States between 10 and 20 years.

In addition, the relationship between young people and domestic violence as one of the most consistent findings in the domestic violence literature was not correlated with the occurrence of domestic violence in Korean Christian immigrant families. Our findings indicated that the older the individual, the more abusive acts they employed. This may be due to the fact that age turned out to be an inconsistent risk marker. Hotaling and Sugarman pointed out that occupational status, income, and educational level all showed up as consistent risk markers whereas age was classified as an inconsistent risk marker across studies.

3. In regards to religious and cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality and male dominance variables, our data revealed that the mean score for religious patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality of the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers was significantly different from that of the

Christian community men (28.48 vs. 31.97). In addition, in comparing cultural patriarchal attitudes toward gender inequality, the batterers had a lower mean score than the Korean Christian immigrant community men (22.72 vs. 27.54) and it was statistically significant ($P < .036$). The assumption was that the batterers are more culturally patriarchal than Korean Christian immigrant community men.

Our findings are also supported by earlier research in which patriarchal attitude variables were significantly related to domestic violence.¹ This is also consistent with the previous studies for Korean American immigrant families. These

¹ For a discussion of an association between wife assault and patriarchal variables see Edward W. Gondolf, *Men Who Batter: An Integrated Approach to Stopping Wife Abuse*, Human Service Library (Holmes Beach, FL: Learning Publication, 1985); R. Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, *Violence against Wives: A Case against the Patriarchy* (New York: Free Press, 1979); Kersti A. Yllo and Murray A. Straus, "Patriarchy and Violence against Wives: The Impact of Structural and Normative Factors," in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, ed. Murray A. Straus and Richard J. Gelles, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 383-99; Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Western Religious Tradition and Violence against Women in the Home," in *Christianity, Patriarchy, and Abuse: A Feminist Critique*, ed. Joanne Carlson Brown and Carole R. Bohn (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989), 31-41.

studies found that there is a positive relationship between traditional patriarchal structural inequality and domestic violence in the Korean American community.² Consequently, our study showed religious and traditional patriarchal attitudes to be a significant risk factor for wife assault in Korean Christian immigrant families.

4. In regards to witnessing past violence variables in one's family of origin and/or broader culture, the batterers had a lower mean score than Korean Christian immigrant community men and this was statistically significant ($P < 0.016$). Most Korean Christian immigrant male batterers (66%) reported witnessing parental violence in their childhood. Stated differently, the perpetrators were more likely to have

² For a discussion of the relationship between domestic violence and traditional patriarchal variables in Korean American families see Young I. Song, *Battered Women in Korean Immigrant Families: The Silent Scream* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996); In Jong Hong, "Male Batterers: An Ecosystemic Analysis of Conjugal Violence in the Korean Immigrant Family," Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1993; Judy H. Kim, "Silence and Invisibility: A Feminist Case Study of Domestic Violence in the Lives of Five Korean-American Women Abused," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998.

witnessed their fathers assaulting their mothers than were non-batterers. A similar finding was reported by several earlier studies in which observing domestic violence in their families of origin was significantly correlated to the approval of slapping a wife.³ As social learning theory suggests, experiencing parental violence not only teaches violent behavior, but also leads to permissive attitudes towards violence.⁴

Also, our findings indicated that 74 percent of the batterers considered themselves to be a victim of physical abuse or punishment by teachers during their formative school years. Previous studies have indicated that physical

³ For a discussion of an association between witnessing past violence in family of origins and domestic violence see John Briere, "Predicting Likelihood of Battering: Attitudes and Childhood Experiences," *Journal of Research in Personality* 21 (1987): 61-69; Mildred D. Pagelow "Factors Affecting Women's Decision to Leave Violent Relationships," *Journal of Family Issues* 2, no. 4 (1981): 391-414; P. L. Caesar, "Exposure to Violence in the Families-of-Origin among Wife Abusers and Maritally Nonviolent Men," *Violence and Victims* 3 (1988): 49-63; Sandra M. Stith and Sarah C. Farley, "A Predictive Model of Male Spousal Violence," *Journal of Family Violence* 8 (1993): 183-201.

⁴ Kalmuss, "Intergenerational Transmission of Marital Aggression," 11-9.

punishment is prevalent in Korean society.⁵

Korean society has allowed parents and teachers to use physical punishment as a disciplinary measure in order to teach a child. According to the findings of the present study, Korean Christian immigrant male batterers who had suffered physical punishment during their formative school years justified wife abuse more. Therefore, witnessing parental violence and physical punishment in their school days were a good predictor of the occurrence of domestic violence among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers.

5. In regards to the degree of physical violence in Korean Christian immigrant families, fifty-seven percent of the batterers reported at least one incidence of verbal aggression during the previous year. Also, about thirty-eight percent of the batterers in the sample (n=52)

⁵ Myung Sook Park, "The Factors of Child Physical Abuse in Korean Immigrant Families," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 25, no. 7 (2001): 945-58; Sondra S. Doe, "Cultural Factors in Child Maltreatment and Domestic Violence in Korea," *Children and Youth Services Review* 22, nos. 3/4 (2000):231-36.

reported at least one incidence of physical violence during the past year.

Among the batterers, seventeen percent of the sample respondents reported severe violence toward their wives. Severe violence was defined as acts that have a relatively high probability of causing an injury (kicking, hitting, beating up, threatening to use or using a weapon). As a result of abuse, fifty-one percent of the batterers indicated that their spouses received various physical injuries.

Limitations of the Study

All of findings of this study must be interpreted with caution, however, as there are several limitations to the study. First, this study has a limitation in its sample as a result of the convenience sampling technique used to collect data. Random sampling was impractical for this study due to the potential risk of revealing violence, the large sample size required for the task, and the feasibility of it. The investigator tried to compensate for this by recruiting men from various places. Therefore, the convenience sampling for the

comparison group to the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers provided a biased sample that would not be a representative sample of all Korean Christian immigrant men in the United States.

Secondly, another bias may exist because of the restricted nature of the place from which the sample was chosen. Due to difficulty in obtaining a large sample size for Korean Christian immigrant male batterers, all of them were recruited from the Korean American Family Service Center. All subjects were enrolled in a 52-week court-mandated batterers' program. Therefore, the generalization of the findings in this study is limited to the Korean Christian immigrant male batterers in Los Angeles.

The third limitation is that the data for this study were obtained from self-reports of respondents. When asked to complete the questionnaire, the batterers may well have attempted to minimize what violence they actually perpetrated against their spouses. It may be argued that the batterers may have tended to distort the truth on questions. With self-reports, the validity of the responses is always somewhat questionable since people may forget about incidents that occurred in the

distant past, or answer in such a way as to make themselves look better, or may not understand the questions being asked.

The fourth limitation is related to the memory of the respondents. Because domestic violence tends to occur in the privacy of the family relationship, it is possible that memories of violence collected from participants might have biased the data.

Lastly, the language barrier in a different cultural context is also a limitation in this study. Most of the respondents who had difficulty with the English language completed the survey in Korean. Some English terms are often not translatable or are very difficult to translate into the Korean language, even though the translations were carefully selected. Therefore, the translated questionnaires may have been less valid than the English version.

Implications for Pastoral Care and Counseling

In spite of the various limitations of this study, its results suggest several important issues that can be incorporated into areas of pastoral care ministry. First, this study suggests that macro-level preventive

educational efforts regarding the problem of domestic violence in Korean immigrant faith communities should be implemented in order to change patriarchal attitudes which so often lead to domestic violence. Domestic violence is only possible within the structure of patriarchy. Changes in attitudes and perceptions are important for changing behaviors. Thus, pastoral caregivers should target religious and traditional patriarchal ideology and beliefs that legitimize the use of violence in families; they need to encourage alternative healthy and equal interpersonal relationships in Korean immigrant faith communities. Changes in the social structure are required so that the patriarchal cultural and religious norms, ideologies, and values that permit or encourage wife abuse and the general use of violence will be abandoned. Also, in order to stop the abuse, pastoral caregivers must emphasize accountability. The batterer has to receive a clear message that battering is not acceptable and the batterer has to take responsibility for his aggressive behavior toward women.

Especially, a major intervention is needed to help in breaking the intergenerational transmission of family violence. The data lend empirical support for the social

learning theory in a Korean Christian immigrant family. Childhood observation of parental violence did influence Korean Christian immigrant male batterers' attitudes toward domestic violence. Therefore, pastoral caregivers should target the children and youth as the effective strategic group for education regarding the prevention of family violence.

This could be accomplished in several ways. For example, pastoral caregivers could develop classes focusing on educating children and youth about healthy egalitarian intimate relationships and acceptable ways to resolve conflicts in relationships with others. Specifically the program would need to focus on teaching them non-aggressive problem-solving skills, discussing gender role, and learning healthy ways of coping with conflicts. Also, children and youth need to be informed in church that family violence is not normal and acceptable, and they need to be encouraged to tell a teacher or pastoral caregiver if it is occurring within their family. Parents also need to be educated about the prevalence and the consequences of violence, and need to be informed about resources available if it should occur.

Secondly, for the Korean immigrant church and faith leaders, this study acknowledges that the Korean immigrant church can greatly impact the Korean immigrant family. However, pastors and church leaders often lack awareness of and knowledge about domestic violence and how to help the victims, perpetrators and their families. Thus, it is recommended that pastoral caregivers provide professional assistance and training about domestic violence to pastors and church leaders. Educational training should include parenting education, premarital counseling services, anger management, stress management, effective communication skills, and substance abuse in order to develop positive reinforcement of prepared and healthy families. The training should include assistant ministers, pastor's wives, female pastors and church leaders because many victims and their families are more likely to be on the front line and in a position to detect family violence and provide assistance. Also, because pastors' knowledge and awareness of government and community resources are limited, pastoral caregivers are urged to provide various useful resources training for domestic violence and its related topics in the Korean immigrant community.

Thirdly, the study recommends that pastoral caregivers should develop and implement a church-based family support group program and counseling, which does not exist currently in the Korean faith communities for Korean immigrant families. This support group would include victims, perpetrators and their families as a whole and focus on healing and empowering victims, correcting batterers' attitudes and behaviors, and helping with children's problems.

In addition, for pastoral counseling services to be productive for Korean immigrant families, the pastoral caregiver should include family members. Currently, the family model is avoided because it may place the victim in greater danger. However, interventions should take into account their social and cultural realities; i.e., Korean cultural values emphasize the collective unit such as the family. Thus, if cases are not dangerous to family members and safety is ensured, including family members in pastoral counseling is critical and necessary for healing the family bonds fractured by violence in their family.

Fourthly, the study suggests that cultural constraints often interfere with Korean immigrant

families seeking professional help for their violent experiences. This is mainly due to cultural factors such as shame, a lack of familiarity or misconception of counseling. Such cultural constraints make the acceptance of counseling an unattractive option. Thus, pastoral caregivers should educate the Korean faith communities about what specific services and resources are available, what these services can do for clients, confidentiality of the problems, and the importance of early intervention.

Finally, in order for the Korean immigrant community to serve more effectively in the area of family violence, the collaborations with social agencies, legal organizations, social workers, mental health professionals, law enforcement agencies and religious leaders are especially important. These collaborations should be able to reach the Korean immigrant community to the broader extent to educate the whole community. With these collaborations, we are able to share community resources, provide services in various aspects of domestic violence issues, present meaningful assistance to battered women and battering men, and strengthen their referral network.

Theological Considerations

The problem of domestic violence to women in Korean immigrant families is an extension of a long history of traditional Korean patriarchal culture. Traditionally, violence against women has been justified in the context of Korean culture, which is strongly rooted in the philosophy of male-dominated Confucianism.

Furthermore, the general belief that God has reserved certain positions of spiritual and religious authority for men in certain ministries and decision-making responsibilities seems to prevail in the lives of many Christians. This position has been expressed in such terms as patriarchy, hierarchy, authority, and headship for the greater part of church history. Also, this view, which posits the inferiority of women and the submission of women to men, could mislead men to expect the control of wives by husbands, with violence being sometimes permissible to enforce control.

Therefore, we need to challenge some cultural and theological beliefs that seem to imply a subordination of women by reconstructing a theology that truly brings Jesus' good news of liberation, mutuality, and reciprocity to both women and men. My attempt here is

not to give an exhaustive appraisal of the theological meanings of liberation and equality in history; I want to reconstruct the cultural and theological grounds for a vision of partnership and equality in the man-woman relationship in terms of feminist theology, minjung theology, and Taoism briefly.

Today, all feministic perspectives are not the same, but rather reflect views of feminism that differ in a number of ways. There is also no one definitive feminist theology that informs all others. As more feminist theologians express and expand their ideas and concerns, their perspectives have been refined and have taken on more distinctive characteristics.

However, in spite of their diversity, broadly shared themes are recognizable among various Christian feminist perspectives. They share common terms such as equality, reciprocity, and mutuality to express their vision of a new reality for both women and men. They also share a basic criticism that Christian tradition has been inherently androcentric and patriarchal. Especially, they have criticized the male language about God in the Christian tradition and some biblical texts that appear to subordinate women to men in family and religious life.

Christian feminists specify ways that the language about God is misused and they attempt to retrieve the richness of its meaning. They have analyzed how negative effects stemming from narrow uses of the image of God as only father legitimates a subordinate status for women within Christianity. Thus, Christian feminists suggest a range of alternative images for naming God.⁶ Sallie McFague, for example, suggests using female imagery for God. She speaks of God as mother, lover, and friend and relates these metaphors to several biblical passages and to the doctrine of the Trinity.⁷ Mary Daly speaks of God in terms of the dynamic verb, "Be-ing" instead of anthropomorphic symbols of God⁸

In fact, YHWH in the Hebrew Bible cannot be named. Our language cannot completely exhaust the meaning of God. No language of the divine should be absolutized. Along these lines, Christian feminists' renewed and

⁶ For a discussion of alternative images for naming God see Gail Ramshaw, *God Beyond Gender: Feminist Christian God-Language* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Elizabeth Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1993).

⁷ Sallie McFague, *Models of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

⁸ Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), 33-34.

critical reflection on the nature of language about God sheds new light on a vision of partnership and equality in the man-woman relationship.

Also, Christian feminists have been critical of the ways that some biblical texts and Christian tradition have sanctioned male dominance. Their challenges have promoted the church to interpret and harmonize with the whole of God's Word in order to realize partnership in gender relationship as our model of Christian marriage and family life. The work of woman theologians such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, and Merill Groothuis has offered some new and insightful critiques of the texts and the Christian tradition. Ruether, for example, not only presents a critique of patriarchal and monarchical models of God and Western Christianity and a rejection of hierarchical thinking, but reinterprets the Christian message in terms of the promotion of the full humanity of women.⁹ Fiorenza argues that the early church was a community of equals, whose structure was later influenced by the patriarchal

⁹ Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983).

structures of Greco-Roman society.¹⁰ Groothuis also suggests that in the New Testament, we find clear and repeated instructions for believers to relate to one another with humility, respect, mutual submission, and an attitude of servanthood.¹¹

In addition, the Word of God demonstrates sufficiently the biblical basis of partnership and equality in gender relationships before God as our model for Christian marriage and family life. In the Old Testament, both male and female are made in the *imago dei* (Genesis 1:26-27; 5:1-2). The Order of Creation theory that the perfect (Adam) was created first, the Rib theory that the woman (Eve) was created from a rib of Adam, and the Fall theory that the woman (Eve) was tempted first, do not hold.¹² In the new covenant in Christ there is no longer any distinction in spiritual privilege or status

¹⁰ Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroad, 1983).

¹¹ For a discussion of equality in the Bible see Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, *Good News for Women: A Biblical Picture of Gender Equality* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1997).

¹² For a discussion of equality in Genesis see Richard S. Hess, "Equality with and Without Innocence," in *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy*, ed. Ronald W. Pierce, Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, and Gordon D. Fee (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 80-95.

between Jew and Gentile, slave and free, and male and female (Galatians 3:26-28).

In this way, Christian feminists' constructive insights provide the church with powerful resources for proclaiming the heart of Jesus' good news, which lies in its promise of liberation from oppression of all sorts and promoting equality and partnership in gender relationships. The church should emphasize liberative resources within a religious tradition that may help transform unjust power relationships like those in abusive relationships.

Also, minjung theology provides liberative insights to women. Although the word minjung is unique to Korean and difficult to translate, minjung denotes 'the common people' literally. In particular, it means the poor and oppressed people politically, economically, and socially. Women are not just one category of minjung. They are the "minjung of the minjung." They share a double oppression, first as women, and then as persons who are oppressed.

One of the major themes of Minjung theology is the *han* of the minjung. Even if *han*, like minjung, is difficult to define, *han* is an Asian, particularly

Korean, term to describe the deep unresolved experience of pain or unfulfilled wishes created by injustice and oppression or the human existential condition. Women, particularly, have experienced the long history of *han* due to dehumanizing patriarchy. Their *han* is much deeper than men's.

Patriarchy has generated women's *han* greatly in Korean history, owing to Confucianism, one of China's philosophies that has exercised a powerful influence for the past 2500 years. Especially, Confucian ethics enforce the hierarchal social order relationship such as father and son, husband and wife, older person and younger person, man and woman, master and servant, ruler and subject, and the like. Since Confucianism has had a strong influence on all domains of Korean life as the state religion, patriarchal oppression has been intolerable.

The following examples show the unjust and dehumanizing social image and roles of Korean women. The primary virtue for women, *Nam Jon Yu Bi* (which means men are superior and women) are inferior originated in the Confucian concepts of a woman's inherent inferiority and incompetence, and the confinement of the woman to a

lifetime of sacrificial service roles. Husbands could abandon their wives for any one of seven reasons at any time: incompatibility with parents-in-law; inability to bear a son; hereditary or irremediable disease; jealousy; adultery; talkativeness; or thievery. Patriarchal familial structures contributed to the socialization of a woman as dependent on her father before marriage, on her husband after marriage, and on her son after her husband's death. A woman's *han* was deeper than that of any other group.

Minjung theologians work to resolve the *han* of women as well. To dissolve the *han* of women we should have a vision of a new relationship that promotes mutuality and equality in the man-woman relationship, or the *hanless* society in which the minjung determine their own destiny and cooperate to actualize the potentialities of each other. Moreover, the *han* of women cannot be removed without justice and liberation. Minjung theology understands liberation as deliverance in social terms from an oppressive predicament.¹³ Patriarchy is not good news but bad news for Korean women. Justice and

¹³ Kee Deuk Song, *Inquiry about Man* (Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 1984), 247-248.

liberation heal the women's wound of *han* and restore women to their rightful place. The realization of the fruits of justice and liberation produce a new heaven and earth where people's *han*, especially women's *han* will be fully resolved.

Finally, the metaphysical interpretation of human nature in Taoism (*yin-yang* unity) provides an excellent conceptual foundation for the equal value of men and women. In Taoism, all things are manifestations of a universal energy, *qi*, urged by the tension between the opposing yet complementary forces of *yin* and *yang*.¹⁴ According to the *yin/yang* theory, *yang* signifies the sun, heaven, the masculine principle, active, positive, motion and life, while *yin* signifies the moon, earth, the feminine principle, negative, rest and death.¹⁵ This binary distinction is not one of absolute mutual opposition and exclusion but rather of mutuality and interdependence.

¹⁴ J. J. Clarke, *The Tao of the West: Western Transformation of Taoist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 31.

¹⁵ Jung Young Lee, *The Trinity in Asian Perspective* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 25.

If the yin-yang way recognizes not only the coexistence of opposites but also the complementarity of them, it is perhaps best to characterize it in terms of a "both/and" way of thinking.¹⁶ The yin-yang way of thinking provides useful elements for the church, which is dominated by dualistic concepts and an "either/or" way of theological thinking. The either/or way of thinking splits the opposites as if they have nothing to do with each other. Moreover, dualistic thinking such as masculine/feminine, objectivity/subjectivity, reason/emotion, mind/body, domination/submission, have encouraged the oppression of women. However, the both/and way of thinking or the yin-yang way of thinking is not only an inclusive but also a holistic approach.

Using the same formula, we may be able to understand the relationship between man and woman. Taoist ideas emphasize both the feminine and the masculine simultaneously. The Chinese character for a person seems to imply that we become a whole person through the complement of our opposite. The complementary

¹⁶ For a discussion of the either/or way of thinking or both/and way of thinking see Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: the Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

relationship of opposites is then necessary for the whole.

Since man is in woman and woman is in man, the female is not inferior to the male nor is the male superior to the female. Both male and female are essentially equal, just as yin and yang are equal. Thus, the essential nature of persons, as described in the yin-yang theory, grounds a vision of partnership, mutuality, and equality in the man-woman relationship.

In summary, I have explored some cultural and theological beliefs that seem to imply a subordination of women, and that could mislead one to expect the control of wives by husbands, with violence being sometimes permissible to enforce control. In contrast, I have presented several theological models in terms of feminist theology, minjung theology, and yin-yang theory that foster liberation, mutuality, and partnership for both men and women. Especially, Christian feminists' insights provide useful resources for bringing liberation from oppression of all sorts and promoting equality and partnership in gender relationships. In the case of Minjung theology, it also provides liberative insights to heal the *han* of women. Justice and liberation can heal

women's wound of *han* and restore women to their rightful place. Finally, the Taoist principle of *yin-yang* unity or both/and way of thinking provides an excellent conceptual foundation for the equal value of men and women. Whereas dualistic thinking has encouraged the oppression of women, the *yin-yang* way recognizes not only the coexistence of opposites but also the complementarity of them. Because of the complementary relationship of opposites, the female is not inferior to the male, nor is the male superior to the female. These models can provide the church a vision of equality and mutuality for Christian marriage and family life.

Conclusions

The present study has explored a population of Korean Christian immigrants who are known to be batterers and to compare them to other Korean Christian male immigrants who have not been publicly identified as batterers in terms of cultural, religious, and social variables. The study was conducted with the hope of providing pastoral, sociological, and psychological insights as to the study of domestic violence for Korean

Christian immigrant families and to generate to future studies on this subject.

The quantitative part of the study examined major potential contributing factors to violence against women among Korean Christian immigrant male batterers. Religious patriarchal attitudes, cultural patriarchal attitudes, and observation and experience of violence in the past history of one's family of origin and/or broader culture were found to be related to domestic violence in Korean Christian immigrant families. The literature review in this study delineated several micro-and macro-level factors relating to this phenomenon. Especially, the insights of patriarchal theory, cultural acceptance of violence and social learning theory as the theoretical foundation provided a framework in understanding domestic violence among Korean American immigrant families.

The qualitative part of the study identified the findings from the in-depth interviews for domestic violence prevention and intervention in the Korean immigrant community, thereby providing useful information for future design of responsive, culturally appropriate and effective prevention efforts in faith communities. By adding the voices and thoughts of a group of various

interviewees, the qualitative findings definitely contributed a greater depth to the understanding of violence causality, impacts, and recommendations for possible solutions.

Simple solutions are not possible for complex, multi-determined problems such as domestic violence. The solutions offered in this study will clearly not eradicate domestic violence. However, this study shows the tremendous importance and impact of religious and cultural patriarchal attitudes, as well as witnessing past violence, upon domestic violence in the family. In addition, what is clear is that more research needs to be conducted, focusing on domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community and the perpetrators of violence in terms of pastoral care and counseling. The investigator hopes that this study will increase awareness of domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community, help Korean immigrant batterers to live with their dreams and hopes for better lives without violence, and provide pastoral caregivers the means to develop a holistic strategy for pastoral interventions for prevention of family violence.

Appendix A

Informed Consent

Claremont School of Theology

Participant's Consent Form

UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for participating in this research about your experience(s) of domestic violence. In this study I am exploring the major contributing factors to violence against women in Korean immigrant families and developing a theoretical holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse in Korean faith communities. This research is to help pastoral caregivers understand domestic violence and to provide guidelines for these pastoral caregivers to work with it.

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The Principal Investigator will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to take part.

1. Study Title

"Pastoral Care for Korean Immigrant Male Batterers of Domestic Violence"

2. Principal Investigator

Chonggoo Chang, Ph.D. Candidate in Theology and Personality (Pastoral Care and Counseling).

3. Right to Refuse

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and stop participation in this research study at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits for which you may be entitled. Also you

may choose not to answer any particular questions without consequence.

4. Study Procedures

Subjects will spend approximately 20 to 30 minutes completing a questionnaire. Subjects will be asked to give opinions about domestic violence. In addition, there will also be some questions about the subject's own personal experiences with domestic violence.

5. Benefits

The information collected will assist pastoral caregivers and social service providers in understanding domestic violence in the Korean immigrant community so that they can help to develop an effective theoretical holistic strategy for pastoral intervention and prevention of wife abuse.

6. Risks

The survey will not ask any questions that cause any physical risks or long term discomforts. The only risk is that the survey may ask some sensitive questions which may or may not make subjects feel uncomfortable. If you do experience any negative emotional consequences, you will be referred to qualified clinical social and/or pastoral service agencies in which a counselor or pastoral caregiver will provide appropriate assistance for you. Confidentiality as well as anonymity will be protected since your name will not be recorded on the survey questionnaire.

You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits, and risks. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time. You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this consent form, you have read, understood and agree to the terms of this document.

Participant's Name and Signature

Date

Appendix B
Questionnaire

I. Protestant Christian Orientation

- A1. Are you Protestant Christian? Yes _____ No _____
- A2. Have you been baptized? Yes _____ No _____
- A3. Do you attend Sunday worship service regularly?
Yes _____ No _____
- A4. Do your Christian faith and beliefs have influence
on _____ important decisions in your life?
Yes _____ No _____
- A5. Does your Christian life provide meaning and purpose
to your life? Yes _____ No _____

II. Socio-Demographic Information

- B1. Age: _____
- B2. Education: Indicate the highest level of education
that you have completed. _____
1) Elementary school
2) Middle school
3) High school
4) 2-year college
5) 4-year college
6) Master's degree
7) Doctor's degree
- B3. Length of Residence: how long have you been in the
United States? _____
- B4. Marital Status: _____
1) Married

- 2) Cohabit
- 3) Separated
- 4) Divorced
- 5) Widowed
- 6) Never married

B5. Have you worked during the last year?

Yes _____ No _____

B6. Occupation: _____

- 1) Unemployed
- 2) Student
- 3) Skilled worker (Electric, Carpentry, Cleaning, Driving, Sales, Painting, etc.)
- 4) Manual work (Sewing, Gardening, Cleaning, etc.)
- 5) Professional skilled work (Engineer, Construction, Teacher, Nursery, Computer-related work, etc.)
- 6) Self-employed (Liquor, Clothes Shop, Market, etc.)
- 7) Clerical person or salesperson (Clerk, Bank Clerk, Civil Servant, etc.)
- 8) Professional (Doctor, Lawyer, Professor, Artist, Journalist, Minister, etc.)
- 9) Semi-professional (Executive, Higher Officials, etc.)

B7. Income Status (Monthly) _____

- 1) Below \$500 2) \$501 - \$999 3) \$1,000 - \$1,499
- 4) \$1,500 - \$1,999 5) \$2,000 - \$2,499 6) \$2,500 - \$2,999
- 7) \$3,000 - \$3,999 8) \$4,000 - \$4,999
- 9) \$5,000 - \$7,000 10) \$ 8,000 or more

III. Religious Patriarchal Attitudes Toward Gender Inequality

1 = Strongly agree	2 = Agree	3 = Disagree	4 = Strongly disagree
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- C1. Men are the right ministers of God's word because both God and Jesus Christ are men. _____
- C2. Wives are commanded to honor their husbands as the head of the family. _____
- C3. A woman is subservient to a man because she originated from his rib. _____
- C4. A woman should learn from men in obedience and quiet submission at church. _____
- C5. It is the natural, God-given right of men to have power over women. _____
- C6. Men's superior strength and ability display the image of God more than women illustrate. _____
- C7. God calls women to be more humble and submissive to their husbands than their husbands are to them.

- C8. The Bible states that the equality of males and females is the Christian ideal. _____
- C9. The wife follows her husband's leadership to achieve greater conjugal unity in their marriage. _____
- C10. Both husband and wife are equal in the family, work, the community, and the church. _____
- C11. In worship or religious services, men and women should have equal status. _____
- C12. Men are naturally better religious leaders than women.

IV. Cultural Attitudes Toward Gender Inequality

1 = Strongly	2 = Agree	3 = Disagree	4 = Strongly
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agree			disagree
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- D1. Korean women should obey their husbands. _____
- D2. When there is a difference of opinion between a husband and wife regarding family matters, the wife should yield to her husband. _____
- D3. Though a male's extramarital relationship is acceptable, a woman's extramarital relationship is not acceptable. _____
- D4. The male head of a household should be in charge and make the final decisions. _____
- D5. Women have the right to participate in all occupations, just as men do. _____
- D6. Family matters need to be discussed and decided based on mutual agreement between husband and wife. _____
- D7. Do you agree with the Korean proverb, "If a hen crows, the household will crumble?" _____
- D8. Generally, men are superior to women. _____
- D9. Husbands and wives should equally share in household responsibilities, such as cooking, washing dishes, and cleaning. _____
- D10. A wife has as much right to end a marriage as does a man if she is not happy. _____

V. Past History of Witnessing Violence

The next several questions ask about things you may have previously experienced. Please answer the questions to the best of your memory.

1 = Almost Never	2 = Once In a While	3 = Sometimes	4 = Frequently	5 = Almost Always
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E1. When you were a child (under the age of 18), you saw your father hit or throw something at your mother.

E2. When you were a child (under the age of 18,) you saw your mother hit or throw something at your father.

E3. You consider yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment by your parent(s) when you were a child (under the age of 18).

E4. You consider yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment by your teacher(s) in your school days when you were a child (under the age of 18).

E5. When you were serving in the army, you consider Yourself to have been a victim of physical abuse or punishment.

E6. When you a child (under the age of 18), you watched violent actions on television or movies. _____

VI. The Level of Conjugal Violence (CTS)

In the past 12 months (or in the past 12 month that you and your spouse were together), how many times did you do these things and how many times did your spouse do these things, when you and your spouse fought:

Circle the amount of times the event occurred in the last year:

1 = Hardly Ever	2 = Once or Twice a Year	3 = Once or Twice a Month	4 = Once a Week or More	5 = Almost Everyday
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F1. Discussed issue calmly

1 2 3 4 5

F2. Got information to back up own side of things

1 2 3 4 5

F3. Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things

1 2 3 4 5

F4. Insulted or swore at the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F5. Refused to talk

1 2 3 4 5

F6. Stomped out of room or house

1 2 3 4 5

F7. Cried

1 2 3 4 5

F8. Did or said something to hurt the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F9. Threatened to hit or throw something at the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F10. Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something

1 2 3 4 5

F11. Threw something at the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F12. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F13. Slapped the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F14. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist

1 2 3 4 5

F15. Hit or tried to hit with something

1 2 3 4 5

F16. Beat up the other one

1 2 3 4 5

F17. Threatened with knife or gun

1 2 3 4 5

F18. Used knife or gun

1 2 3 4 5

F19. Has your spouse received any of the following injuries
as a result of your abuse?

(1) _____ Bruises

(2) _____ Black eyes

(3) _____ Minor cuts or burns

(4) _____ Cuts, burns, or bruises requiring
medical attention

(5) _____ Damage to teeth

- (6) _____ Concussion
- (7) _____ Broken bones
- (8) _____ Joint injury
- (9) _____ Spinal injury
- (10) _____ Injury to internal organs
- (11) _____ Miscarriage
- (12) _____ Emotional/mental distress requiring medical care
- (13) _____ Physical injury requiring hospitalization
- (14) Other (Describe) _____

F20. Did any of the above behaviors occur when your spouse was pregnant? Yes _____ No _____

VII. Information on Pastoral Care and Counseling

G1. When I have a personal and/or family problem, I usually go for help. _____

- 1) Wife
- 2) Relatives
- 3) Friends, neighbors
- 4) Pastor
- 5) Counseling centers
- 6) Other. If other, please specify _____
- 7) No one

G2. Have you heard about pastoral care and counseling?
Yes _____ No _____

G3. Have you received pastoral care and counseling from

your pastor? Yes _____ No _____

G4. If you said, "yes" to question 3, was it effective and helpful to you? Yes _____ No _____

G5. If you know of any pastoral services and need to seek help, yet do not utilize those resources, what stops you from doing so? _____

- 1) Shameful to talk to a pastor and/or congregation
- 2) Confidentiality or lack of trust
- 3) Do not know how to approach
- 4) Family rejection
- 5) Pastor's lack of specialty
- 6) Other. Please specify _____

G6. When there is domestic violence in your family, you usually seek help from whom? _____

- 1) Relatives, neighbors
- 2) Friends
- 3) Pastor
- 4) Social Service Center
- 5) Myself
- 6) No place
- 7) Other. If other, please specify _____

G7. Have you ever heard a domestic violence-related sermon from your pastor? Yes _____ No _____

G8. Has your church provided any type of family violence prevention and /or educational program?
Yes _____ No _____

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